The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. LXXXIII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1935 NUMBER 1078

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The Week

THE Teuton variety of the Ku Klux Klan that now rules Germany staged a brutal attack on Jews in the streets of Berlin, which was witnessed, and in some cases actually experienced, by foreign visitors. An American midshipman on vacation, defending two women against the blows of a Storm Trooper, was arrested and fined for his chivalry. This was a mere diversion for the Nazis, however, beside the much more serious drive against Catholics and Protestants who have anything to say about the way the state is run. It becomes a crime for Catholics to agitate against sterilization, and the political organizations of their youth are dissolved. Priests who object from their pulpits will be arrested. Whether all this hectic activity indicates a new split among the Nazis, or is an attempt to divert attention from economic difficulties, is a matter of speculation. Meanwhile Mussolini presses ahead against Ethiopia. A League Council meeting is scheduled, but is likely to be futile because of the lack of Italian coöperation. It may not even be held, on account of the pressure from Rome. The lira, which a few years ago Mussolini said he would defend with blood if necessary, has been sacrificed for the coming war; it was impossible to maintain the legal gold cover in view of the abnormal movements of exchange. A secret treaty of 1891 between Britain and Italy, giving the latter rights in Ethiopia, has been dug up, but British spokesmen say that it has been superseded. Italian propaganda, voiced by Pirandello the playwright on his arrival at New York, asserted that Italy had a duty to civilize the Ethiopians, just as the American settlers civilized the Indians. Lo, the poor Ethiopian!

SIR Bolton Eyres-Monsell, First Lord of the Admiralty, announced in the House of Commons that after the expiration of the present Washington naval-limitation treaty, Britain would no longer adhere to the ratio system of allotting strength. This represents a surrender to the position of Japan, whose representatives have argued that it offended their national pride to accept an inferior status. It will, of course, be a blow to the American doctrine of limitation, but that was inevitable in any case. The announcement was made in fending off an attack by the opposition on Britain's new naval agreement with Germany—one that combines the ratio system with a sliding scale, since Germany is to be allowed 35 percent of whatever Britain may have. The new procedure is to ask each nation what its building program is, how large a navy it expects to have by 1942. It is hoped that these programs may be accommodated to one another on the basis of mutual security from attack, and then that in 1942 the nations may agree to further limitation on the basis of the relationships at that time. Whatever complicated formulas are used, the net result will be, as before, an increase in all navies and the building by each power of a navy as large as it wants or can afford. In so far as the Washington agreement helped to keep the peace, here is another bulwark against war washed overboard.

IN Washington the Senate committee investigating the power lobby discovered that an agent of the Associated Gas and Electric Company had dictated about a thousand telegrams to a Congressman in opposition to the holding-company bill, signing names out of the Warren, Pennsylvania, city directory without authorization of those who bore

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the names. The carbon copies of the telegrams were later burned at the request of the company. Ursal E. Beach, head of the company's securities department, ordered subsidiaries in twenty-six cities to destroy all written evidence of their activities against the bill, while the investigation was pending. A grinning telegraph messenger testified that he had received three cents apiece for signatures to canned telegrams. Henry T. Hunt, counsel to the P.W.A., charged that the utility interests have persistently lobbied against allotments of P.W.A. funds for the construction of municipal power plants. Of thirty-one allotments so far made, he said, twenty-two have been attacked in the courts and, in each case, the suits were based on identical grounds, suggesting that they had come from a central source. Inflation came to the top again when Senator Borah and others served notice that they would keep Congress in session to pass bills paying the bonus and refinancing farm mortgages by fiat money, thus making good the prediction of T.R.B. in The New Republic. The President is adamant for passage of a drastic tax measure. It has become apparent, as is explained below, that the relief fund is inadequate for the make-work program. Representative Deen was defeated in a pathetic appeal to adjourn Congress and let the legislators escape the Washington heat by going home. (Mr. Deen lives in Georgia.)

IN THE rest of the country political confusion and social conflict accompany the continuation of the crisis. We hear loud voices from the propertied interests, who have ample sounding boards in the press; what labor is thinking receives much less attention. But its voice is heard from Terre Haute, Indiana, in the form of action. The city is tied up by a general strike in protest against the employment of armed guards and the importation of strike breakers by the Columbia Enameling and Stamping Company, whose employees have been on strike for three months for union recognition. Although no violence accompanied the general walkout, Governor McNutt sent in 2,000 National Guardsmen and declared martial law. The great strike of Pacific Coast lumbermen continues unbroken. In six agricultural states relief has been curtailed by the authorities to force the unemployed into the harvest fields at wages lower than the dole. Those who were reluctant to take the harvest jobs not only objected to the low wages but feared, if they once left the relief rolls, they would be unable to get back when the field work was over. This whole mess might have been avoided if the relief system had been more intelligently organized. Although prosperity is beginning to show its head again in the Midwest farm regions, the A.A.A. received a mortal wound by an adverse decision in a federal court, discussed elsewhere in this issue. The administration won at least a temporary legal victory, however, when the Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans reversed Judge Grubb's decision against the T.V.A.

THE principle of social security, so richly and bravely enunciated by the President a year ago, now dawdles into sorry actuality. Both the House and the Senate have voted in favor of the administration measure, and the present impasse concerns the amendments attached to the bill in the Senate. Chief of these is the Clark amendment permitting employers to maintain private pension plans and exempting such employers from their contributions to the federal old-age-pension system. This amendment has obvious and grievous faults. It sets up dual control with consequent difficulty of administration. It carries a temptation to employers to hire younger workers, on whom premium payments are relatively small, to replace the higher-premium older workers; and it has a tendency to bind the workers to company unions. After weeks of wrangling, the Senate and House conferees brought this particular amendment out to the floor of the House for a vote, where it was defeated. There the matter stands as this is written, with efforts being made behind the scenes to work out some compromise upon which House and Senate can agree. No matter what the final solution may be, the country seems destined to receive a sprawling, omnibus social-security bill, full of unwise and inadequate makeshifts, a bill setting up not one strong federal system but forty-eight separate state systems. Thus far, six states have adopted unemployment-insurance laws. California, New Hampshire, New York and Washington have proceeded on the sound principle, recommended by most students of the problem, of pooling funds for the state as a whole, while Utah and Wisconsin maintain the more risky and cumbersome system of having each company carry its own account. In the field of old-age pensions, thirty-five states have adopted laws embodying widely varying qualifications and benefits.

SHUDDERING like a man about to enter an icy showerbath, France has embarked on a policy of quick, drastic deflation. By the long awaited decrees of Premier Laval, government economies will be effected, and new taxes laid, to cover a current budget deficit of 11,000,000,000 francs ($726,000,000). The most sensational measure is a ten-percent cut in payments to the holders of the sacred French rentes, the equivalent of a forced conversion. The salaries of government functionaries are to be reduced on a graduated scale, with cuts of ten percent for those receiving more than 10,000 francs ($663) a year, down to three percent for those receiving 3,000 francs ($200). Similar reductions will be made in veterans' pensions. The operating expenses of the French state railway are to be cut by 2,316,000,000 francs ($153,000,000), and part of this sum will be taken from the railway workers. Along with these measures, Laval will attempt to lower the cost of living. Rents are to be reduced by ten percent, and cuts will be made in electricity, gas and other necessities. Bread is to be reduced by ten centimes a kilo. Laval also imposes new taxes,

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including a 50-percent advance in the tax on incomes of more than 80,000 francs ($5,280), and a 25-percent advance in the tax on munitions making. Laval obtained the consent of his Cabinet to his measures only by incarcerating its members in the Quai d'Orsay for fifteen hours. Angry protests have already come from the well organized functionaries and veterans. In many respects, Laval's program follows the famous "iron decrees" of Bruening in 1931, which directly cleared the way for Hitler. Although, with its self-contained economy, France is far better able than Germany to carry through a deflationary program, it is by no means certain that the French people will submit to the privations that it entails. Next October, when the Chamber must meet to approve or reject Laval's measures, will be a critical time, politically, for France.

A PRELIMINARY report by Harry Hopkins' Works Progress Division reveals that allotments of $1,499,992,805 have now been made from the $4,880,000,000 work-relief fund. This amount is to provide work for 1,127,001 persons, less than a third of the total of 3,500,000 "employables." For the first time it is disclosed not only that $900,000,000 of the fund has been set aside for direct relief under the F.E.R.A. during 1935, but that an additional $500,000,000 has been earmarked for direct relief during 1936. The remainder of the fund, consequently, is down to about $2,000,000,000. For the 2,400,000 "employables" not already provided for, there remains an average of only about $820 apiece. These figures indicate that, unless local communities can be induced to make appropriations for tools and materials, nothing but the most primitive projects can be undertaken in the future. It appears doubtful whether the permanently valuable parts of the work-relief program, rural resettlement, rural electrification, housing and the Youth Administration, can hope to obtain, later on, any funds beyond those already set aside for them. With $4,000,000,000, Mr. Roosevelt might have made a monumental contribution to the country's capital equipment. He might have built, for instance, workers' communities that by their example would have altered our whole concept of a possible mass standard of life. As it is, it seems likely that the fund will be dissipated in small ways, many of which will not be of permanent benefit, and few of which will yield adequate income to those who are employed.

TWO hundred and forty-two members of the House have petitioned Mr. Roosevelt to take action against the anti-church policies of the Mexican government. In an interview with Mr. Roosevelt, a committee of House members explicitly denied that it advocated intervention. Instead, it asked either that an investigation be conducted in Mexico by American diplomatic officials, or else that Mr. Roosevelt utter a public protest. Mr. Roosevelt disconcerted the committee by immediately dashing off a sentence expressing his "entire sympathy" with freedom of worship, in this and other countries. While it is true that Protestant missions in Mexico have been curtailed by laws passed since the Obregón-Calles revolution, the main protest against Mexico's anti-church program comes from the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The number of signers of the petition to Mr. Roosevelt, a majority of the House, shows that during the last few weeks this church lobby has recruited unexpected support. The present controversy in Mexico, which resulted recently in an attack from ambush on a group of Catholic students visiting the state of Tabasco, has roots stretching back to the time of Juarez. It has very little to do with religion, and a great deal to do with taxation, land ownership and politics. It is difficult to see how the United States can restore the influence of the Catholic Church in Mexico, or why it should do so. The policy of the Roosevelt administration has been one of complete non-interference in internal Mexican affairs. It would be altogether unfortunate if the pressure of a church lobby on Congress were to cause this policy to be changed.

THE forced resignation of General Jinzaburo Mazaki as director of military education in Japan indicates that a shift is occurring in the political objectives of the Japanese army, but whether this shift is great enough to affect Japan's imperialist drive is more than doubtful. General Mazaki was the active head of the extremist faction of the Japanese officers' corps, the same faction that backed General Sadao Araki during the invasion of Manchuria. Both men have a mystical notion of the soldier's place in the state, and despise politicians, business men, workers and foreigners, especially Westerners. The group of high Japanese officers who ousted General Mazaki have substantially similar beliefs, but without such pronouncedly religious overtones as those affected by the extremists. For the outside world, the choice between an extreme Japanese militarist and a moderate one is not particularly striking.

ONE of the strangest strikes in recent labor history, in which the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, acting as an employer, defied the rulings of another government agency, the National Labor Relations Board, has just been won by the strikers. With the collapse of General Charles G. Dawes's Central Republic Bank and Trust Company of Chicago, the R.F.C. acquired voting control of the Utilities Power and Light Corporation, of which the Laclede Gas Light Company of St. Louis is a subsidiary. Last March the workers of the Laclede company struck for union recognition, and were found by the National Labor Relations Board properly to represent a majority of the company's employees. The Laclede management, however, refused to accept the N.L.R.B.'s ruling, and ap-

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pealed to the courts. Chairman Jesse H. Jones of the R.F.C. was implored to end the anomaly of a situation in which the government was, in effect, challenging itself. He replied that the R.F.C. took no responsibility for the conduct of enterprises temporarily under its control, and the strike then continued for four months. A few days ago, the R.F.C. disposed of its interest in the Utilities Power and Light Corporation to the Atlas Corporation, an investment company. With the passing of control from the government to a privately owned corporation, the Laclede management capitulated, and agreed to bargain with the strikers. It is an episode that reflects no credit on the government.

Courts Kill the A.A.A.

TO ALL intents and purposes, the processing tax, which is almost as vital to the A.A.A. as the code system was to the N.R.A., is as dead as its brother child of the New Deal. The United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the First Circuit on July 16 held the A.A.A. processing taxes unconstitutional. The case arose on a claim by the United States against former Senator William M. Butler and other receivers for the Hoosac Mills Corporation, operators of Massachusetts cotton-textile mills. Since the case was decided, several injunctions against the collection of A.A.A. taxes have been issued by federal judges in various parts of the country.

Processors may now either ask for injunctions against the payment of the tax or simply refuse to pay, as many of them are already doing. In that case the government can collect only by obtaining a favorable decision from some other circuit court or reversing this decision in the Supreme Court after that body reconvenes next fall. Either course seems likely to be unsuccessful. Although there are ten circuit courts of appeals and the Boston decision was not unanimous, the holding is likely to stand because it applied the principle stated by the Supreme Court in the recent Schechter case, which held the N.I.R.A. invalid.

The stated purpose of the A.A.A. is to increase agricultural purchasing power. In the original act seven basic agricultural commodities were recognized. These were wheat, cotton, corn, hogs, rice, milk and tobacco. The objective was to raise prices of all of them to a point that would enable the farmer's produce to buy as much as in a base period from 1909 to 1914, except that in the case of tobacco the base period was from 1919 to 1929.

The law gave the Secretary of Agriculture two groups of powers. Those in the first group enabled him to pay various sorts of bounties and rental allowances to farmers who coöperated in a crop-reduction program. The second group dealt with marketing agreements and licenses. Powers in the second group were not limited to the basic agricultural products. To meet the expenses contemplated by the crop-reduction schemes, Congress appropriated $200,000,000 and in addition allowed the Secretary of Agriculture to impose certain processing and compensating taxes and expend their proceeds. A processing tax was levied on the first domestic processing of the commodity. A further provision allowed a tax on floor stocks of a commodity and its products where the commodity is subject to a processing tax. This was to remove any advantage to manufacturers who laid in a large stock before the processing tax went into effect. The Secretary of Agriculture had discretion to determine when, if at all, a tax should be levied in respect to any basic commodity, and the rate of the tax, which could, of course, be changed from year to year.

The economic logic of the measure was clear. Supplies of crops had been increasing or remaining virtually constant, while their prices fell. Manufacturing or mining industries, faced with a similar situation, reduced their output and held up their prices, as far as they were able—and many of them did so with considerable success. Farmers, however, being numerous, highly competitive and without large capital resources, could not practise voluntary reduction of output. This law provided them with a means of paralleling industrial practice. They were induced to restrict production by government benefit payments. Money to pay these benefits was collected from those who processed the crops on the way to the consumer. Thus the result, both to producer and consumer, was precisely the same as if the farmers, like the manufacturers, had restricted production of their own accord. The grower got more per unit, and what he got, the consumer paid. Sometimes the consumer paid more than the extra amount the farmer collected, and sometimes less, but by and large the thing worked in that way.

The case decided in Boston involved both processing and floor taxes. The Boston court said these taxes were unconstitutional for two reasons. First, it was evident from the declared purpose of the law that it was not a revenue measure but an attempt by the federal government to control the production of farm products. This power is nowhere granted to Congress. The Tenth Amendment specifically reserves to the states and the people all powers not assigned to the federal government. The power to regulate commerce, said the court, gives Congress no power to control products of either agriculture or industry before they enter interstate commerce, merely because their production indirectly may affect interstate commerce. Second, the court said that Congress had unconstitutionally delegated legislative power. Only Congress can determine what property shall be subject to taxation. No definite, intelligible standard, it was held in this case, had been set up by Congress.

To paraphrase the decision, the court said that in order to control crop production and raise farm

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prices, Congress authorized the Secretary of Agriculture, within broad limits, to determine who and what was to be taxed, and how much. What Congress was trying to do is unconstitutional, and even if this were not so, Congress could not abdicate its own legislative powers in favor of the executive branch of the government.

On both points the Circuit Court of Appeals professed to follow the Supreme Court's decision in the Schechter case. It will be recalled that the Supreme Court held that Congress in the N.I.R.A. had unlawfully delegated legislative power to the President, and that, furthermore, the N.I.R.A. attempted to control intrastate trade having only a remote and indirect effect on interstate commerce. The Boston court had no occasion to pass upon the functions of the A.A.A. relating to manufacturers' codes and licenses. Most of these, however, are subject to the condemnation of the Supreme Court under the doctrine of the Schechter case.

Processing taxes amounting to about half a billion dollars a year are now being collected. Approximately $900,000,000 realized from processing taxes have already been distributed to farmers. The A.A.A. has asked Congress to withdraw the privilege of suing the United States for the recovery of any processing taxes previously paid if the taxes are found to be unlawful. The Senate has modified this request by passing a bill allowing such suits only when the taxpayer can show the tax has not been passed on to its customers. The administration, as in its program of barring suits on bonds containing the gold clause, thus takes the position that it will refuse to acknowledge any responsibility on account of unconstitutional conduct. But manufacturers who have not yet paid their processing taxes will probably not be compelled to do so. The law barring tax suits thus will have only temporary operation, and will discriminate against those who have obeyed the law so far.

Apparently the decision does not prevent the A.A.A. from making contracts with farmers to reduce output or from paying them benefits in that connection. But if the government is to raise the money to pay these benefits, it must do so out of taxes that have no ostensible connection with the purpose for which they are to be used. They might conceivably be ordinary sales taxes on foods, cotton goods and tobacco. But such taxes would be unpopular, inflexible and difficult to match closely against the benefits paid. It is quite possible that Congress would prefer to follow the inflationary route of paying the benefits out of borrowed funds or even by unsecured paper money. Of course, if the dictum of the court were followed through to its logical conclusion, the government could no nothing whatever to control the prices or production of farm products.

It is ironical and unjust that what a large part of industry has power to do for itself by way of restricting output and maintaining prices, Congress has, under our judicially interpreted Constitution, no power to help the farmers to do. But in both cases the practice is anti-social and opposed to the best interests of farmers and workers alike. It would be much more to the point if Congress, to give parity to the farmers, could reduce industrial prices and enlarge industrial production. Any such attempt at control of industry, however, would also be unconstitutional under the Schechter and previous decisions. The courts forbid the government from doing anything important to regulate the national economy, whether it is bad or whether it is good. That is, they forbid it from doing anything that privately owned industry does not want done.

Relief to the farmers might come from the reduction of the tariff and a reopening of foreign markets. But since private interests do not sanction this course, either here or abroad, it is a policy that is not likely to be tested. If, as a result, we continue to grow more wheat or cotton than is really needed in this country, the only permanently sound solution would be, as Mr. Tugwell pointed out several years ago, a revolutionary change in land utilization, a shifting of population, and the growing of more fruit and vegetables, more pasturage, more forests in place of the discarded crops. But this would be almost equally difficult to achieve, and it would not work unless city populations had greatly enlarged incomes with which to purchase a more liberal diet. Again we should run into the obstacle of the Constitution, the courts, and private property in the means of production.

To Save Our Forests

EIGHTEEN months ago we discussed in these columns the initial stages in the development of what has since become known as Article X of the Lumber Code. Article X was adopted by the lumber industry and the N.R.A. in pursuance of the President's pointed request that the Lumber Code should contain provisions to prevent "the further destructive exploitation of forests." When Article X came to the President for approval, he publicly stated that he regarded it as one of the most important achievements of his administration.

The Supreme Court decision nullifying the N.R.A. has of course destroyed the basis for the Lumber Code. Any new sort of N.R.A. is improbable, and in any case regulation of forest exploitation is hardly within the powers of the government under the Schechter decision. But control of our forests is an imperative necessity, even if we have to pass a constitutional amendment to get it. The machinery set up to enforce Article X of the Lumber Code can be adapted to any new type of regulation; and in spite of weaknesses, pointed out in this article, it represents a great step forward.

Article X had been worked out in detail in the so-called "Rules of Woods Practice," which vary in form from region to region depending on local forest types and conditions. The purpose of these

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rules is to substitute what might be termed "reproductive logging," which permits the natural regeneration and permanence of the forest, for the destructive types of logging that have literally wiped out the forests—root and branch—over vast areas. Article X further looks to the adoption of "selective cutting," which harvests only the mature trees, and "sustained yield management," which would reduce the annual cut of timber in a given forest property to the annual growth of wood, thus assuring the perpetuity of the forest and the industries dependent on it.

Behind these technical rules and objectives stands a purpose of tremendous importance—to halt the great wave of destruction that has turned magnificent virgin forests into ugly and worthless deserts, has practically depopulated large areas, has destroyed industries and payrolls and has made of forest workers a migratory, dissatisfied group. The forests of this country, if wisely managed, as in Europe, are permanently capable of giving the equivalent of year-long employment to at least two million workers, which in a stabilized permanent industry permitting normal family life would mean the support of ten million people. The restoration of our partly ruined forests would give employment to large additional numbers over a long period of years. Facts such as these make it clear why the President attaches so much importance to Article X, to the Civilian Conservation Corps and to other forestry enterprises.

It is also clear that, inasmuch as the "Rules of Woods Practice" were, under N.R.A. theory, enforcible in the courts, Article X of the Lumber Code represented an important beginning in public regulation of private forests to prevent their destruction —regulation such as has been successfully applied in European countries for many years. But much discussion, private and public, has gone on in Washington as to whether it is not desirable to strengthen governmental participation in carrying out the conservation provisions of the Lumber Code. The lumber industry has been inclined to take the view that this whole conservation undertaking is a purely industrial one, whereas proponents of the broad public interest in preserving our forests insist that the government has both the duty and the right to intervene to whatever extent is necessary to prevent further forest destruction. Thus a writer in a recent issue of American Forests urged that the government be given a much more clear-cut and forceful position in relation to Article X than the present purely advisory relation of the federal and state forest services to the Lumber Code Authority and its divisions. He further proposed that through amendment of the Industrial Recovery Act, or by a separate law, the regulatory power of the government should be clearly defined and that an adequate federal agency be created or designated to assist the lumber industry in putting Article X into effect.

The proposal for stronger governmental intervention does not imply failure or bad faith on the part of the lumber industry in respect to its obligations under Article X. The Lumber Code Authority had had its hands pretty full with other immediate and urgent phases of the Code, such as hours, wages and price control, and had not been able to give to the enforcement of Article X the attention it deserved. Moreover, it would be difficult for the industry to finance the very large technical and supervisory personnel that will be required for adequate enforcement.

Revolutionary changes in logging practices affecting hundreds of millions of acres of forests land and many thousands of forest owners, operators and wood-workers could not be carried out by the small skeleton force of forestry technicians employed on Article X by the Lumber Code Authority and the Forest Service. A powerful organization, manned with a large technical personnel, is required, whether future regulation is to be continued under the N.R.A. or otherwise.

It has become clear that at least the more progressive and far-sighted members of the lumber industry understand the need of cleaning house in the matter of forest destruction. They realize that the present administration is bent on ending destructive exploitation of natural resources and that the existence of their industry is at stake. We hope that these leaders will yield to the inevitable logic of the situation: namely, that the task of forest reform is too great for the industry to carry out without powerful governmental aid. This need not mean a purely bureaucratic enforcement of Article X or whatever substitute may be chosen to replace it. A large measure of individual and industrial initiative and responsibility must continue to be granted, but there must also be clear-cut federal powers to assure that forest-conservation measures will be universally and fairly applied. With such assurance, the forest industries will be in a much stronger position to demand substantial public aid in the way of forest credits, reformed forest taxation, increased public expenditures for forest-fire protection and other public assistance designed to promote permanent forest management.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1935, IN THE U. S., BY THE NEW REPUBLIC, INC., 40 EAST 49TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY. BRUCE BLIVEN, PRESIDENT, DANIEL MEBANE, TREASURER.

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RATES: SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN, FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR.

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Will We Stay Out of the Next War?

I: *How We Entered the Last One*

THE CURRENT debate upon the question of how the United States is to avoid entanglement in the next war should naturally begin with the problem of how, in fact, we got into the last one. In confronting the future, the first guide is the experience of the past. As such, the experience of 1914-17 has the defects of most historical experience. It is confused and baffling in the extreme. The deceptive simplicity of the facts conceals a matted jungle of motives, of conflicting economic and psychological influences, of unstated assumptions as to the proper bases of national action or the nature of the social process. Even to traverse this jungle to any purpose it is necessary first to agree upon certain fixed-datum points, concerning which there is today no agreement; to establish the "cause" of the American declaration of war in April, 1917, one must solve an equation in innumerable variables, although there is as yet no consensus as to the values that should properly be attached to any of them.

It is not difficult to describe what happened. When the European complex exploded in August, 1914, the shock to the American economy was almost as violent as that to the American emotions. The situation was in both respects something with which American opinion and American statesmanship were utterly unprepared to deal. The government issued its formal proclamation of neutrality and consigned the problems of our practical relationship with the warring powers to the uncertain and contradictory principles of international law. The more influential and more vocal elements of public opinion took refuge in an attitude of hostility towards the Central Powers—as reactionary, autocratic governments that had willed the war in the hope of achieving world hegemony—and of sympathy for the Entente as the defenders of ideals and political institutions similar to our own against a brutal and unwarranted aggression. If the government, however, was willing to leave the future to international law, this majority opinion was no less willing to leave it to the Allies. There were very few, in or out of the government, who either grasped the possibility that the United States might be involuntarily entangled or saw any reasons of national interest that might compel us to become a participant. The United States proposed to take up the role of interested spectator.

Immediately, however, as one writer has recently put it, "the truism that the world is economically interdependent became grimly apparent." It did not appear, it is important to note, in the form of a question as to whether the United States should retreat into a prudent isolation until the storm had passed. We found ourselves isolated, with a devastating abruptness. European selling forced the New York Stock Exchange to close on July 31, 1914, and it dared not reopen until December. Practically the whole of our trans-Atlantic commerce came to a standstill; and if the two belligerents had been equally able to interfere with each other's trade, we might have found ourselves cut off for an indefinite time from all our more important foreign markets. Germany's geographical disadvantage and the overwhelming superiority of the British navy combined to prevent this; the seas were soon reopened, but not to commerce with the Central Powers. Cotton, one of our two great export crops, of which Germany was a heavy taker, could not be sold, and the South was brought to the verge of ruin. At the same time, the normal trade with the Entente countries was, of course, seriously dislocated; and the late summer and fall of 1914 saw our already somewhat depressed economy sinking towards prostration.

The first economic problem presented by the War, consequently, was not one of eschewing the excess profits of death; it was one of regaining some of the ordinary profits of peace. The unemployed, who were filling the streets in the latter part of 1914, had to be provided for no less than the stockholders. Two methods presented themselves. The State Department devoted itself to reopening, so far as possible, the normal channels of trade with the civil population of the Central Powers. The business men, and subsequently the bankers, turned with a greater realism to develop from the war needs of the Entente a substitute for the markets of which they had been deprived in Germany and Austria.

The State Department's attempt to obtain the adoption of the Declaration of London was essentially an attempt to confine the savage violence of the European War within the gentlemanly limits which the Great Powers had in the past been able to impose upon such private quarrels as that between Russia and Japan in 1904. While the armies fought, the normal business of the world would be conducted as usual. The attempt promptly failed, partly because our diplomatists had no conception of the pressures they would have had to apply if it was to succeed; but the Department continued to work to the same end by insisting upon strict construction of the elaborate precedents concerning blockade and contraband, which are supposed to establish the rights of neutrals in time of war. It

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was continuously baffled, both by the elusive and frequently inapplicable nature of the precedents and by the practical fact that the British navy possessed the physical power to enforce its own interpretation of them.

Upon this solid basis of sea power, the Allies had, by the beginning of 1915, erected an intricate structure of controls over American foreign commerce. It amounted to a practically complete blockade of our direct trade to and from the Central Powers and a hardly less complete interdiction upon trade by way of the European neutrals. Many of these controls were indirect, maintained by threats and promises rather than by official action, and policed by the "voluntary" undertakings of American business men themselves. It is difficult to say that any of the main features of this system were flatly "illegal," although the British were hard put to it to defend a number of the important details from the bitter protests launched against them by the State Department. Whether the controls were legal or illegal, however, it is possible that the United States could have compelled their relaxation had it applied economic pressure or the threat of war; it is certain that, given the preponderant naval power of the Entente, it could have kept the seas more or less open in no other way.

Such pressures, however, were never seriously applied. Here was the first important consequence of the fact that the majority sentiment of the country had not actually been neutral from the outbreak of the War. The President, his more influential advisers, all the important people in the foreign service (except Secretary Bryan), shared the hostility towards Germany and the sympathy for the Entente that filled every leading newspaper and the after-dinner speeches of most public figures. These sentiments were now being powerfully reinforced by the Entente propaganda; they were likewise being reinforced in another way. American business had turned to solve the problems of war depression by seeking war markets in the Entente. By the end of 1914 it was beginning to find them. The United States started out to supply the Entente because the Entente markets alone were open and because the United States badly needed business. But as the war demand rapidly developed (after the end of the 1914 campaign had revealed to the belligerents the colossal material requirements of the new warfare), it began to be realized that the United States had stumbled upon a gold mine. The Allies' power to offer or withhold these stupendous contracts became one of their most useful instruments in organizing American enterprise to enforce the boycott of Germany while serving the needs of the Entente. The contracts themselves, needless to say, intensified the emotional fervor of all the leading elements of the community for the Entente cause, just as the original sympathy for the Entente had facilitated the development of the war-supply business.

For the State Department to exert any serious pressure upon the Allies in order to keep open some trade with Germany early became a political, a psychological and an economic impossibility; while the unexpected, seemingly miraculous, appearance of the huge war-supply business removed the original economic motive for such an attempt. Many different and intricately interrelated factors (not all of which need by any means operate in the same way in the event of another foreign war) had combined to produce this result, almost accidentally. Not because of any conscious policy—rather indeed because of the lack of any sufficiently conscious policy—the United States had become a chief source of supply for one side in a life-and-death struggle, at the same time acquiescing in the complete exclusion of the other side from her markets.

The other side inevitably sought for some means of reacting against this situation; and in the spring of 1915 a means was discovered. Here again there is an accidental element in the sequence of events. Had the Germans earlier developed the submarine as a commerce destroyer, it is possible that our economic alliance with the Entente would not have become established as it did; if, on the other hand, they had waited to perfect the weapon before resorting to it, American policy might more clearly have recognized its importance and adjusted itself to the new factor. From the American point of view, the German declaration of the submarine war zone, in February, 1915, came at just the wrong time. It was too late then to revert to the original policy of forcing open the seas for commerce with the civil populations of the belligerents; it was too early to realize the immense strategic value of the new weapon. President Wilson summarily ordered the Germans not to use their submarines as they proposed to do against the American traffic with the Allies. Only later was he to perceive the difficulty of enforcing such an order.

This refusal to accept, or at the least to discuss, the German theory of a maritime war zone must be ascribed in part to the personal temperament of Mr. Wilson, a strong moralist who was at bottom emotionally enlisted on the side of the Allies; in part to the similar temper of the public; in part to the resultant political considerations that made it difficult for any official to seem to favor Germany; in part to Allied propaganda, which discounted the submarines as strategically ridiculous. Though the Germans had a legal case for this use of the submarine, it was, at any rate on the surface, a much weaker one than the Allies' case for their blockade measures; it challenged the conventional ideas of national right in a much more dramatic way, while the whole issue was of course profoundly obscured in the fogs of passion that had accumulated.

Had the proposed war zone ever been seriously discussed, economic considerations must likewise have come into play, for it would have been obvious that the United States could not appear to sanction a free war upon a trade that promised the one

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means of escape from a serious depression. Actually, few seem to have supposed that the submarines could materially affect our exports, and the issue was met upon a more emotional plane. The President did not attempt to defend the great bulk of the war-supply business that was carried under foreign flags. He did commit himself irrevocably to the demand that the Germans desist from the destruction either of American flag ships or the lives of American citizens on the high seas.

A war situation had thus been prepared, for ultimately there was no peaceful issue from this demand except acquiescence by Germany or its withdrawal by the United States. A war situation does not, of course, inevitably produce a war; accident, however, was again to play a part in intensifying the crisis. The submarine campaign might have developed gradually, in a slow crescendo of incidents, permitting both statesmanship and opinion to work out some peaceful adjustment to the problem. Instead, from February until May the campaign proceeded almost unnoticed, confirming the view that the whole matter was of small consequence, only to explode on May 7, with the torpedoing of the "Lusitania," in an incident so shocking and so unexpected as to render any dispassionate treatment of the broad question very nearly impossible. The "Lusitania" did not bring the United States into the War; it did not even convince any decisive majority of the American people that war was desirable. It did have the important psychological effect of surrounding the President's position on the submarine campaign with an intense emotional field which added to the natural difficulties of retreat and constantly impeded any attempt to remove the war danger that had been created.

The war propaganda continued to operate to bring the public mind to a point at which it would support, if not clamor for, participation in the conflict. The preparedness agitation—in which patriotism seems so inextricably interwoven with less attractive motives that it is now useless even to try to disentangle them—undoubtedly contributed to the same end. The original sympathy with the Entente had been refined and deepened, through the operation of many factors, into an influential belief that permanent world peace might be erected upon an Entente victory; and this supplied a high and impressive reason for bringing the United States into the struggle to assure the victory and participate in the peace system. The growing dependence of our domestic prosperity upon the Entente war orders exerted its far-reaching, if perhaps somewhat subtle, influence. The more closely we became a partner of the Entente, the more genuine a menace, both politically and economically, did the prospect of German victory become. If at any time the Entente had actually seemed to be on the verge of defeat, the economic factor might have appeared more plainly as a positive force driving us into the war; as it was, its influence was rather the negative one of hindering any attempt to restore the country to a position of more genuine neutrality. The actual declaration was precipitated in another way; and in spite of all these forces working in the direction of our entanglement, it is still not inconceivable that the United States might have remained technically at peace.

It is fair to say that in one sense the United States had entered the European War by the middle of 1915. We were an intimate part of the war complex. Our economic power was wholly enlisted upon one side, and we were no longer neutral either in sentiment or in policy. Even so, a military participation, though likely, was hardly inevitable. In considering a future war there is the question of whether the development of this kind of one-sided relationship to the struggle can be avoided; but there is also the narrower question of whether, once it was established, an astute statesmanship might not still manage to retain a legal neutrality.

What actually effected the transition from legal neutrality to practical belligerence in 1917 was the war situation, prepared by Mr. Wilson with his first stand on the submarine and set, as it were, by the emotional shock of the "Lusitania." The President was able to postpone the crisis for some two years by forcing upon the Germans a long series of compromises and partial surrenders. Although the submarines managed to torpedo many vessels and kill a considerable number of American citizens in the course of this correspondence, the Germans never forced the President to abandon his fundamental position. From the "Lusitania" crisis until the declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare on February 1, 1917, Mr. Wilson emerged substantially successful from each incident that arose. It was in this way that he avoided war. But each success only made a subsequent retreat more difficult for him; as time went on he became more and more the prisoner of his own victories.

The final victory came in May, 1916, when to surmount the "Sussex" crisis he compelled the Germans to agree formally to use their submarines only in accordance with the rules of visit and search. In doing so, however, he posed an issue of American rights upon the high seas in such a form that there was no possible future escape from it. This would have been a satisfactory method of keeping us out of war had Mr. Wilson possessed any threat powerful enough to compel the Germans to live up to the engagement. Unfortunately, he did not; for it requires a very powerful threat indeed to compel a power fighting for its life to leave untouched a weapon it believes to be the key to victory. In January, 1917, the Germans took it up again. They had done what the President had declared would be a *casus belli,* and what every shade of influential opinion, including his political opponents as well as many of his supporters, had agreed with him would be a *casus belli.* President Wilson found himself almost automatically at war.

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This, in brief, is more or less what actually happened. Yet to recount it leaves one with a sense of dissatisfaction. Even at the time, the specific issue of the right of certain American citizens to travel through a war zone seemed inadequate to explain why the people of the United States should be going down into the most frightful and most exhausting war in history. Many of those who urged us on at the time (including the President) were careful to explain that it was not really because of the ship question that we should take up the sword —but in the interests of peace and civilization, or the Monroe Doctrine or international law. Since then, many quite different reasons have been advanced to resolve the conundrum that unquestionably remains. Why did not the United States modify its position on the submarine when the issue was presented with the Gore-McLemore resolutions in February, 1916? We might have warned Americans not to travel in the war zone, left the question of ship sinkings to post-war adjudication (as we left the questions of Entente interference with our cargoes) and allowed the belligerents to decide the issue of the sea war themselves. Why did Mr. Wilson in February, 1917, at once break off diplomatic relations instead of accepting the German action and making the best of it? Why did Congress pass the war resolution, when there was no passionate demand for war in the country and when many of the members themselves probably preferred not to?

For the answer it is necessary to seek among the factors that have already been mentioned—the propaganda, the economic relationships, the personalities of statesmen, the exigencies of domestic politics, the fears and hatreds (whether well founded or not) of German imperialism, the altruistic dreams of world peace. These, however, are all elusive and insubstantial quantities, one shading into another in a baffling fashion and each presenting, when the attempt is made to isolate it as the primarily significant factor, certain difficulties. The influence of "Allied propaganda" for instance is today very generally misconceived. The effective propaganda for the Entente cause was that generated in the United States and by the Americans; undoubtedly it was powerfully reinforced by the spontaneous outpourings from all sources of Entente opinion, but the conscious use of censorship and official propaganda bureaus hardly did more than give precision and effect to forces that could never have been created in that way.

"The bankers" present a similar difficulty. J. P. Morgan and Company, and the other houses that participated in the Entente financing, appear to have been much more the channels than the generators of the forces they are supposed to have wielded. In the early days they assisted greatly in setting up the machinery that connected the American need for markets with the Entente need for supplies, but they could never themselves have established the tremendous potential they thus helped to discharge. Their machinery at first ran almost entirely upon cash. It was not until the late summer of 1916 that it was necessary to resort to credit upon a significant scale, and by that time domestic prosperity had become so intimately dependent upon the war-supply business that credit must almost certainly have been forthcoming even had the bankers been less eager to supply the facilities. Finally, the private loans floated from that time onward were in general fully secured. The financial crisis that appeared with the beginning of 1917 arose from the fact that the Allies' security was beginning to run out. The point of Mr. Page's famous telegram of March 5, 1917, urging the President to enter the War to save the war-supply business was not that the government should bail out the bankers, but that it should replace them. Here again one must set down the role of the specifically banking interest as at most an indirect one.

One may broaden the charge to cover the whole complex of profit-making business of which the bankers were an essential part. No doubt the "profit motive," as a generalized concept, may be held responsible for almost anything in a profit-making society. More narrowly, there were quite probably many individual business men who perceived that their bread was buttered on the side of belligerency. It is difficult to detect any specific intrigue, however, in which such men selfishly applied pressure to influence the critical decisions of the President or the Congress in regard to the submarine. The profit motive may have helped to get us into a war situation and hindered our attempts to get out, but it did not directly control the transition from formal neutrality to formal belligerence.

There is a similar elusiveness about each of the many other factors that have been cited by one or another commentator as the decisive one. Those who pin the major responsibility upon the vanity and irascibility of President Wilson seldom attempt to explain how another statesman might, in fact, have met the situation as it was abruptly presented to him in February, 1917. Those who cling to the wartime view that the United States actually entered the struggle in order to preserve democratic institutions and the freedom of peoples from a German aggression must still meet many metaphysical difficulties in showing why there was so long a delay in taking up the issue, why so many in 1917 refused to accept this as the true issue and why the mass of the population was still hoping that war would be avoided at the moment it was finally declared upon a point that even at the time seemed to be of relatively minor importance.

The facts of the period from 1914 to 1917 are complex enough to support almost any theory of historical causation that one may apply to them, at the same time that they are obstinate enough to resist almost any theory of how the ultimate entanglement could have been prevented. An examination of the facts must remain as an essential foundation of any policy designed to control a sim-

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ilar situation in the future. Yet it is to be suspected that before the facts can be of much use there will have first to be agreement upon many profound issues as to the ends which the control should serve, the proper philosophy of international relations, the real character and objects of the state in the international and domestic complex—issues the very existence of which seems to be scarcely realized as yet by most of those participating in the current debate. They have so far confined themselves to the problem of how the nation is to avoid entanglement in another foreign war. The far more important question of whether the nation (whatever they may conceive that to mean) will want to avoid entanglement has hardly even been raised.

WALTER MILLIS.

This is the first of a series of articles dealing with the question of whether we can keep out of the next war. The second article, "Neutrality by Statute," by W. T. Stone, will be published in next week's issue—THE EDITORS.

Riding the Relief Rolls

ALMOST any F.E.R.A. case worker who carefully reads between the lines of her relief list will be amazed to see among the bona-fide recipients of unemployment relief the names of some of the most substantial citizens of her community. Six case studies taken from the small Southern town of B——, which has a cotton-mill village at one end and an irregular circumference of small tobacco farms, will illustrate this concealed but interesting part of any relief roll.

MRS. AMBERLY

Young Mrs. Amberly is considered very chic. Her home is modern and fashionable, and she gives some of the best parties in town. About six months ago, however, Mrs. Amberly decided she had better curtail expenses. Her old Negro cook refused to work for the "depression wages" her mistress offered her, so she was discharged, and Mrs. Amberly set about looking for another servant. She found several applicants, but one and all protested that they could not live on the proposed wages. "Why, that doesn't matter," said young Mrs. Amberly, benevolently. "You can get your clothes from the relief office." And this, sad to relate, is what Mrs. Amberly's new cook is doing, for there is no law requiring Mrs. Amberly to pay a living wage, but there is a definite understanding throughout the nation that the F.E.R.A. cannot knowingly let an applicant suffer for lack of adequate food or clothing. In the old days, Mrs. Amberly might have felt some responsibility for the welfare of her Negro servant, but now this burden is conveniently taken off her shoulders by the F.E.R.A., and her food will be prepared by a wretchedly underpaid but nevertheless decently clad servant. Fortunate for the cook, and how helpful to Mrs. Amberly!

MR. SAM LANDRUM

Not nearly so fashionable as Mrs. Amberly is Mr. Sam Landrum, tobacco grower. Mr. Sam is known to be "as tight a farmer as ever walked behind a plow." Shrewd in appraising his opportunities, Mr. Sam has joined the relief rolls—*sub rosa* of course. At the beginning of the last crop year, he discharged all his tenants, and when the present farming season began he hired day laborers to tend his tobacco. Day laborers, however, have hearty appetites, and so Mr. Sam began looking about for cheap domestic service. He found it. In a nearby town he came across a Negro farm family who, since the male member had become chronically ill, had recently been evicted by their last year's landlord. Having nowhere to go, the family accepted Mr. Sam's offer to come and live rent free in an old shack on his place. In return for this bounty and for the right to pick up firewood on Mr. Sam's amply wooded acres, the wife and oldest daughter of the family agreed to do all the cooking, cleaning and washing for Mr. Sam's household and to prepare the food for the day laborers. Rations? Clothing? No indeed! Mr. Sam could not afford to furnish them. The family, he declared, would have to get these necessary items from the relief office. And this is what they will do. In vain will the case worker argue that Mr. Sam is driving an unfair bargain with his new help—that the shack is uninhabitable, that the wood costs him practically nothing, and that, moreover, he is financially quite able to feed the Negro family and pay a small wage so that they might clothe themselves. Mr. Sam reiterates that he will not do it, cannot do it; meanwhile the family slowly starves and the neighbors come riding to the relief office with harsh criticism of a welfare agency that will knowingly let folks perish from hunger. Mr. Sam can let them perish; so can the neighbors, but not the relief administration.

THE GRAYCO COTTON MILL

Perhaps Mr. Sam should not be judged too severely. He is, after all, an individual, and not a rich one. Why shouldn't he cash in on the huge F.E.R.A. allotments when such wealthy interests as the Grayco Cotton Mill can do so?

The Grayco Mill is controlled by a very rich

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family, noted in a rather minor way for its philanthropies. While the mill probably has not been making large profits of late, one cannot help but be surprised at finding it on public relief. The village in which the Grayco workers live is a wretched one. The condition of the privies (the village has no water or sewage system) is admitted to be disgraceful. The management of the Grayco Mill does not like the privies any better than the workers do, but of course it cannot afford to have them repaired. Can the owners make partial payment for such repairs? Well, perhaps. They will try somehow to furnish the lumber if Uncle Sam will furnish the labor. And this is what is happening. More than two hundred privies which do not meet with state health requirements are being repaired with relief labor.

The Grayco Mill has cause for even more tender words of praise for the F.E.R.A., however. It is quite convenient for the mill to keep at least two hands on tap for every job. Of course the mill can't work each hand all the time, but perhaps it can employ him part of the time—enough at least to keep him experienced. Undoubtedly also, the hands can't live on their part-time wages, but no matter—the F.E.R.A. will keep their suffering from being too acute. And if even with F.E.R.A. aid, they can't make out, somehow their resentment is directed against the relief agency—not against the low wages of the Grayco Mill, which is, as the president will tell you, only trying to give jobs to as many workers as possible.

Mr. Caleb Parker

Another surprising figure on the local relief roll is Mr. Caleb Parker. Years ago Mr. Parker, though nobody remembers quite how he did it, accumulated several old, dilapidated houses in various sections of the town. The houses were difficult to rent because of their condition, and they remained vacant for months on end. If they were rented, the rent paid was so small as barely to pay the taxes. Now, however, thanks to F.E.R.A. funds, Mr. Parker is doing nicely. His houses are occupied by relief clients, and the rent is paid regularly by the F.E.R.A. There is a shortage of houses in town, and the F.E.R.A., as anyone in B—— will tell you, cannot let any family go without a roof over its head. Thus it is that Mr. Parker's individual real-estate boom is able to continue.

Dr. Wardley

Along with Mr. Parker, Dr. Wardley is one of the well known citizens of the town. In the old B.R. (before relief) days, Dr. Wardley had a considerable charity practice. He was always a kind-hearted soul, and he could never bear to refuse his services to any suffering individual. Now, however, neither Dr. Wardley's heart nor pocketbook need crack under the strain of charity cases. He has practically none. The relief administration pays him a fair price for all home and office visits he has to make for any relief client. And the relief clients (you guessed it, reader) are naturally, for the most part, his former charity patients.

Mr. Isaiah Bowles

Our last case is that of Mr. Isaiah Bowles, influential vendor of dry goods and groceries. It would not be far wrong to say that he has recommended more needy individuals to the relief office than any other citizen in town. If it turns out that these Bowles-sent relief applicants are Bowles customers now in debt to the merchant—well, that is only to be expected. "Sure, you're an honest man, Tom," he tells one of his heavily indebted customers. "I know you want to pay your bills. You ought to be able to get on relief. There's plenty not half so bad off as you are that are getting help. I tell you. When you get your food and clothing orders, you can bring them here and I'll only take a little out of them at a time on your debt." This Bowles-stimulated honesty might not worry the case worker so much if it were not for the fact that Mr. Bowles's prices are unreasonably high. "I have to make them high," he says, "to pay me for carrying their accounts so long."

And so it goes. These six case studies might well be multiplied by several thousand. And these several thousand might serve as a partial explanation of why the relief roll has grown unexpectedly larger during the past year.

Esther M. Douty.

To a Dead Journalist

Behind that white brow
now the mind simply sleeps—
the eyes, closed, the
lips, the mouth,

the chin no longer useful
nor the prow of the nose.
But rumors of the news,
unrealizable,

still cling among those
silent features,
a sort of wonder at
this scoop

come now, too late:
beneath the lucid ripples
to have found a deep
obscurity.

William Carlos Williams.

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Revolution in Sparta

TWENTY-TWO hundred years ago the civilized world was in a condition very similar to the present crisis. There were, that is to say, not identical elements causing a revolutionary situation, but similar elements; the great difference of the presence of chattel slaves and the absence of machinery is not sufficient to prevent a very curious parallelism of revolutionary method with the present day. In the last Hellenistic age some of the principles of revolution that are valid today were first established by a process of trial and error. Certain of the records are incomplete. The Marx, or rather Rousseau, of the Greek Revolution, Iambulus, survives only in description or quotation, for the same reason that if Nazism is universally successful Marx will only remain extant in quotations. But what records remain are sufficiently odd, and are very rarely studied in college or anywhere else.

The beginning of the trouble appears to have been the capture by Alexander of the Persian Treasury, and the spilling of this fantastic reserve of gold and negotiable values all over the Greek world. The immediate result was, of course, a sharp rise in prices; a secondary result of Alexander's and his successors' wars was the establishment of a far larger slave trade than ever before. The combination of these results meant that every Greek citizen who had failed to get a seat on the band wagon was plunged into poverty. Only international traders and large landowners grew rich, and these grew very rich. The citizen who depended on any form of labor for his living found prices flying up and wages rapidly going down to the competitive—that is, the slave—level.

The wage and price rates of the island of Delos, an international financial and trade center, show that by 250 B.C. the wages of a free artisan had definitely fallen to subsistence levels. (This can be proved from the Temple accounts.) Delos was a better place for workers than most of Greece: people used to emigrate to it. Elsewhere the division between a small rich class, rapidly growing richer, and a poor proletariat (slave and free), rapidly growing poorer, was even more marked. This division, and the development of revolutionary technique, are most easily observable in Sparta. The revolution here falls into three stages, each marked by certain discoveries that are being painfully rediscovered today.

The first, the period of Agis IV, is the period of pacifist, constitutional, national revolution.

The second, that of Cleomenes III, is the period of forcible, unconstitutional, national revolution.

The third, the obscure period of Nabis, is the period of international, class-conscious revolution.

I

Agis IV became one of the two kings of Sparta in 244 B.C.

Sparta in 244 was not so very unlike a number of European states in 1935. It had the shadow of a medieval constitution over a purely commercial reality. The common meals went on, but nobody attended them. The Spartan discipline and self-sacrifice were presumed to exist but never were exercised. Foreign trade had enormously enriched a few who had big reserves of gold and profitable mortgages ("iron bar" currency was a forgotten folly), while the mass of the people had lost their land and with it their citizenship. Even the landowners were not happy, because with the development of the Greek financial system they were deeply in debt to their creditors. As a result, Sparta, once so powerful, was a despised state continually overrun by her neighbors. The Kings had become figure-heads, as had also the Assembly. The actual power lay in the hands of the small board of Ephors, who represented only the commercially successful class.

Young Agis was a sort of saint. He lived a life of extreme simplicity. He so clearly cared nothing at all for his own advancement that even after his death he was not slandered. He was so gentle and so deeply opposed to violence that in Sparta he appeared a freak: yet, by his eloquence, he was able to make large masses of men act apparently against their own interests. On ascending the throne, Agis demanded a return to the primitive constitution of Lycurgus. He proposed, like Gandhi, to use only peaceful persuasion and constitutionalism to this end. But his objects were revolutionary if his methods were not. He specified the following reforms:

All land was to be taken back by the State. All debts were to be canceled. Rich and poor would cease to exist: he, Agis, with the assent of his mother Agesistrata, and his grandmother, a very formidable old lady named Archidamia, offered to begin by handing over all his own estates and large reserves of money. The land was to be redivided among Spartiates and the "Neighbors" *(Perioikoi,* free men without citizen rights. The slaves, the Helots, never entered his mind.) The enthusiasm was tremendous. All the young men and most of the young women were for Agis.

The use of a constitution, however, is to protect the existing division of wealth. When it appears to fail, there is invariably found a forgotten amendment by which effective revolutionary action is found to be unconstitutional. The Ephors first of all put up Agis' fellow king, Leonidas, to veto his

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proposals. This automatically referred the proposals to the Board of Ephors, which at once rejected them. Agis, if a saint, was not a fool, and discovered a rival constitutional point. He put up one of his followers to denounce Leonidas for having married a Persian wife. By law, Leonidas thus automatically lost his throne and fled to Megalopolis, while some of Agis' more ardent supporters arranged that an accident should happen to him on the way. Agis, hearing of this, sent his personal guard to Leonidas and saved his life by escorting him out of the country.

Apparently, Agis was now completely victorious. It only remained to carry his program through. Agis now consulted the professional politicians, especially his uncle Agesilaus, a large landowner of great experience. Agesilaus persuaded him that the redivision of land would take a long time, while the cancellation of debts could go into effect at once. Let Agis decree the latter, go out with his army to Corinth, where League obligations called him to prevent a threatened invasion of the Peloponnesus, and then return to carry through the former at his leisure. Overborne by his uncle, Agis consented. The mortgages, money-lenders' notes and bonds were piled in the central square and burnt in one enormous blaze. Traders were mortified and left the square in misery, abusing Agesilaus. "Such a pure, clean flame!" chuckled the old man, rubbing his hands. His estates had been mortgaged at well over their total value.

Agis went north, and on that very day his revolution ended. Agesilaus and all the other landlords, their mortgages burnt, at once joined the rest of the wealthy. Division of land? Common property? Nonsense. They put down these suggestions mercilessly. Leonidas came back: reaction was completely successful.

At last Agis, with a well equipped and enthusiastic army, returned to Sparta. Constitutionally, he had no rights. The Ephors had decided against him in his absence. But in fact, he had all the power; his army was with him and he had only to march into Sparta for Leonidas to run. However, he would not do so. He would have no force used. He went himself alone to sanctuary, in the Brass Temple of Athena, where he could not be touched. Sooner or later, he must have hoped, Leonidas and the Ephors would collapse before public opinion.

Perhaps he would have been proved right, but his unworldliness was to trap him again. Spartans took great care of their physical fitness, and Agis hated to miss his daily bath. He used, as often as might be, to slip out of the temple and go down to the river with some companions. So long as he had a fair escort it was pretty safe. Sparta was a small town and any accumulation of troops in hiding was impossible. Among his companions was one called Amphares, who was a family friend and had borrowed heavily from his mother Agesistrata. One day this Amphares came with two others to take Agis to the bathing place. They were joking and in high spirits until they reached a fork in the road, when Amphares suddenly said: "I am an Ephor. I arrest you for treason!" and his companions fell upon Agis and dragged him off to prison.

The great anxiety of the Ephors, naturally, was to hasten on the trial: the great anxiety of Agis was only to defend his principles to the world. Thus he played into their hands by merely reaffirming that he would do again at the earliest opportunity what he had done before. We are told that he kept laughing at them. But there were no foreign correspondents to echo this Dimitroff's laughter across the world. The death sentence came very quickly.

II

The second stage of the revolution is linked to the first by the rarest of all links in Greek history, a love story. King Leonidas, deciding to leave nothing to chance, and having no liking for murder for its own sake, disposed of Agis' widow by marrying her forcibly to his boy-son, Cleomenes. Queen Agiatis was young and pretty, rich and gay, and too dangerous to be left loose in a Sparta that treated women almost as equals. The unhappy girl pleaded that it was practically a rape, but Leonidas was firm and momentarily all powerful. The marriage was consummated, and with it the biggest and most surprising mistake of Leonidas' life. The two unlikely mates fell passionately in love with each other. Cleomenes, so far from following his father in the paths of reaction, learned from his wife to venerate Agis, and promised himself that as soon as he grew up he would take up the program of social revolution and institute the classless state of common property. But, he added to himself, he would not fall into the trap that had caught Agis.

Thirteen years later Cleomenes was crowned, and the second stage of the revolution was due to begin. His first need was caution, and his second was ruthlessness. First he waited no fewer than eight years. Then he persuaded the Ephors to send him out on a raid against the rival city of Megalopolis. In war a Spartan king was commander; in peace he was the Ephors' servant. But even with his new command, Cleomenes was uncertain of his strength: two years of trivial warfare passed before he could even enroll paid troops. Then he felt strong enough to recall Agis' brother Archidamus to fill the empty second throne (there were two kings in Sparta). He was mistaken in his estimate of his strength. Archidamus was soon found dead, with a knife in his back.

Cleomenes went back to his desultory border warfare. But Archidamus' death made him realize that he had better act quickly, or another knife would be found in his own back. One afternoon he left the well-to-do militia in camp outside Megalopolis and with his paid regiments marched on Sparta, announcing that the Ephors' rule was over and Agis' regime restored.

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The revolution cost exactly fourteen lives—four Ephors and ten supporters who tried to put up a fight—and is perhaps the cheapest social revolution on record. Eighty conservatives were expelled, but in the redivision of land, which Cleomenes at once ordered, eighty farms were put aside for them, and kept in fair order until he was prepared for their return. Trading debts and private property in land and merchandise ("the means of production and exchange") were abolished. Instead of two or three hundred Spartans, a citizen body of some thousands, all with a strictly equal amount of land, was formed. Citizenship was given to the subject "Neighbors," but not, of course, to the slave Helots. Cleomenes was still a Spartan king.

Cleomenes thought that by reflection on the fate of Agis he had learned the lesson of making a social revolution. It was, in a word, to be tough: to concentrate the power in his own hands and that of the reconstituted Assembly he called to replace the Ephors. But in Greece (and perhaps today also) there were two further conditions for making a revolution, of which he knew nothing. The first was that it should be based upon the real workers, the Helots; and by forgetting that he deprived it of half its strength. The second was that it should be international.

Once his revolution was over, Cleomenes returned to his little war on the frontiers. Then a wholly unexpected thing happened. His new troops went through the enemy like a knife through butter. All the Peloponnesus suddenly surrendered. Even Argos, hating Sparta for decades as France hates Germany, came over to him. Cleomenes did not understand the reasons for his victory at all. The states had surrendered to him because he represented to them the revolution: dying under the grip of an exhausted capitalism, their citizens looked to him to revise and reconstruct their economic life, as he had done Sparta's. Cleomenes knew nothing of this. He was a Spartan king, his head filled with stories of Thermopylae as British schoolboys' heads are stuffed with stories of Nelson, and he regarded it as part of the order of nature that Sparta should be a conquering power. He merely tried to make the new states into a Spartan empire.

It was a two years' empire. So soon as the Argives and the other Greeks realized that Cleomenes was not a savior but just another foreign king, they looked round for a different ally. They found him in Alexander's successor, Antigonus, King of Macedonia. As soon as Antigonus entered the field, like snow in the sun Cleomenes' empire dissolved, and he himself had to leave Argos, only just escaping.

Cleomenes himself should now by the rules of Spartan training, have committed suicide. He refused. There is in Plutarch a very moving speech, I suppose imaginary, in which he gives his reasons. They are in brief that any man can die for the revolution, but a serious soldier has no right to die, only to be killed. He must live for the revolution for as long as he can do so. For that reason Cleomenes fled to Egypt, where the reigning Ptolemy was openly jealous of Antigonus and had promised help. He and his Spartans spent helpless years in waiting at the Eastern court. "Look at the lion going up and down among the sheep!" the courtiers used to say, watching his tall restless figure at levees.

At least, realizing the vanity of Egyptian promises, he tried to stage a *coup de main*. His object was to seize power in Egypt merely to descend on Sparta and reëstablish his Lycurgan state. This time, when he failed, he did kill himself.

III

Perhaps it is not accidental that we have very little information about the third phase of the Spartan revolution, which begins in 207 B.C. with the accession of King Nabis. A certain school of psychologists holds that nothing is ever accidentally lost: if it is mislaid, that is always due to an unconscious desire to suppress it. Such an explanation is plausible enough here: for historians certainly have disliked the Nabis episode heartily, and have in consequence managed to lose nearly all the information about it. Practically our sole ancient authority is Polybius, who considers Nabis' followers all "murderers, thieves and footpads." (Polybius is the prototype of the worst kind of German historian: his style is dull, his prejudices uncontrolled and his book impeded by a pedantic parade of apparent learning. Moreover, his work is incomplete.) Even the "Cambridge Ancient History" departs suddenly from its scholarly impartiality to rant about "mob leaders and mercenaries."

From these angry and insufficient sources we can only construct a very shadowy picture. It is clear that Nabis forcibly carried through the standing Spartan revolutionary program. He put an end to private property in land and merchandise and canceled debts and mortgages. He restored the communal meals and living. He made a clean sweep of all class distinctions, putting Spartiates, "Neighbors" and Helots for the first time on one level. It is clear too that the result of this was again suddenly to raise Sparta from the level of a fourth-rate power to that of a first-rate one. The same quick collapse of adversaries that had delighted Cleomenes occurred to Nabis. But there was this difference, that wherever Nabis' troops went they established, not a Spartan dominion but the revolution. For this reason Argos, instead of turning on him, became his most faithful ally.

For a moment the stage clears again when the historians' rejoicings announce the appearance of a force that will put down the riffraff. The Roman legions, headed by the Consul Flamininus, have landed in Greece and are marching south. In eager anticipation of victory the chief "white" general, Philopoemen, takes to the water to wipe out the Spartan navy. To his immense astonishment his

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own navy is destroyed. Even the legions are not so successful as was expected. No Greek, of course, could stand up to the Eagles, but the fight that Nabis' forces are putting up is disconcerting. The wastage of Roman lives is enormous. Argos and the coast line, indeed, are taken, but the probable cost of capturing Sparta is so great that Flamininus begins to wonder whether the Senate will not be extremely displeased. In the end, despite a chorus of rage from his Greek allies, the Consul makes peace with Nabis, taking away his conquests but leaving the revolution in control in Sparta itself.

Momentarily, therefore, this should have been victory. Yet there was still a flaw in the structure of the Spartan revolution. It had learned to avoid the illusions of non-resistance, it had learned to be international, it had learned to base itself on the working class. But it still looked to one man and not to the whole of the movement, to itself, as leader. The Bavarian revolution in 1919 turned on one man, Kurt Eisner. As soon as this was clear, a man named Arco Vally was found to murder Eisner, and clear the way for reaction. The same advice was successful in Sparta. There was a man called Alexamenos, a sort of superior gangster, who hired himself and his troops out for work that no one else would do. He had already done a slick job in Bœotia putting away a statesman called Bathyllas. He now arrived in Sparta, proclaiming his loyalty to the oppressed. He was accepted by Nabis, and coolly and efficiently murdered him at dinner one evening.

The Spartans rallied enough to drive him and his gang out, but they were too disorganized to meet the attack that immediately followed. Philopoemen, the same "white" General, was in command, and carried the counter-revolution through ruthlessly. Sparta's lands were given to her chief enemies, and it was proclaimed that all who refused to accept the new constitution would be sold as slaves.

Three thousand of Nabis' citizens, in this moment of hopeless defeat, chose to be sold as slaves rather than accept Philopoemen's terms. The historians remark that this was very odd, and then abandon any further interest in Sparta.

RAYMOND W. POSTGATE.

America's Deportation Drive

THE United States is in the midst of an anti-alien campaign that is likely to develop into an unprecedented deportation drive. At the moment, the wholesale deportation of immigrants is being recommended as a sure-fire remedy for unemployment and other social and economic ills. For example, Congressman Martin Dies, the author of a half-dozen of the twenty-five or more deportation measures now pending in Congress, has offered as his latest nostrum a bill calling for the expulsion of 6,000,000 aliens. Pursuing the same line of reasoning, he writes in an article, "The Immigration Crisis," in the April 20 issue of The Saturday Evening Post, that "the unemployment problem would never have assumed such serious and unprecedented proportions" and "it is not improbable that a labor surplus would have been unknown in our generation" if the nation had excluded "the 20,000,000 or more aliens that have since [1880] joined the competitive ranks of labor, agriculture and business." The Hearst papers clamor for stricter enforcement of the deportation laws and advocate the "deportation of alien cranks and criminals," according to the Hearst Credo, "particularly those who came to this country to find freedom of speech and remained to abuse it!"

Deportation drives occur in times of economic crises when the working class is engaged in strikes for a living wage and demonstrations for adequate relief. After the World War two such drives occurred in the United States: the Palmer raids followed closely the 1919 strikes, and the Doak terror the crash of 1929. During both, immigrants had been hounded almost indiscriminately; federal agents swooped down on dance halls, clubs and even Americanization classes and raided peaceful homes, striking terror among the foreign born. In the present siege, singular care is exercised in the elimination of hand-picked individuals from the scenes of social unrest, and, now more than ever, the rumor is circulated that these disturbances are fomented by "un-American" doctrines preached by "alien radicals," most of whom, on examination, turn out to be neither aliens nor radicals.

During the San Francisco general strike last year, 375 such persons were rounded up by vigilantes and accommodating immigration officials. Played up by the reactionary press in scurrilous stories, their arrests spread an effective smoke-screen over the issues of the strike: union recognition and abolition of company-controlled "hiring halls." After the smoke had dispersed into thin air, searching light was shed upon alleged radicalism among aliens. Colonel D. W. MacCormack, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, made a close study of the cases of 448 persons arrested in four strike areas, including San Francisco, and found that 330 were indisputably American citizens, "for the most part by birth," 118 were aliens of whom not more than 14 were deportable, but "only one of the 448 was a radical." Between 1918 and 1934, inclusive, 166,261 persons were deported for all causes. Only 1,158 of these, or a little over one-half of one percent, were listed as radicals. But it

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is safe to say that during the same period at least ten times as many people were arrested "on suspicion" of being alien radicals. Most of them were arrested as a result of strikes, and were kept in jail till the strikes were broken.

In Gallup, New Mexico, deportation proceedings have been started against thirteen persons on whose availability as defense witnesses may depend the life of ten miners, facing death sentences as the result of the fatal shooting, on April 4, of Sheriff N.R. Carmichael and two miners. At the preliminary hearing, the prosecution was forced to drop charges against thirty-eight men and women, including three of the thirteen now under threat of expulsion. Immediately after their release, the three were collared by federal agents in the courtroom without warrant—in flagrant violation of the immigration law. Scores of other aliens have been arrested in the recent reign of terror, instituted, according to most observers, by the Gallup-American Coal Company, for the purpose of destroying the workers' organizations. Defense lawyers sent a telegram to Secretary of Labor Perkins, protesting, according to The Daily Worker, "the use of deportation terror to smash the defense of thirty-eight men and ten women on trial here for their lives."

The case of Mrs. Stella Petrosky of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, the mother of eight American-born children, illustrates the real purpose of the widespread propaganda against "alien cranks and criminals." Her expulsion is sought on the charge of "radicalism," consisting of such subversive activities as participation in mass protests and demonstrations against evictions and for relief. On April 25, federal agents took her to jail as a "Communist."

"When I got into the car," The New York World-Telegram quoted her as saying on May 14, "they showed me a warrant and said I was a dangerous woman trying to overthrow the government. They asked me a lot of questions about Russia and anarchists. I don't know anything about Russia. I don't know what an anarchist is. 'You're a dangerous woman,' they kept saying, 'you believe you should take a gun and shoot the government.' I said, 'No, I couldn't hold a gun.' "

Clearly, Mrs. Petrosky's guilt lies not in a predisposition "to shoot the government," but in her determination to assist her fellow men in their struggles against unbearable conditions. By holding the threat of deportation over the head of a Mrs. Petrosky, powerful interests that seem to have unexplained influence over the use of the deportation machinery apparently expect that all the Mr. and Mrs. Petroskys will stop "trying to run the country." The ultimate goal is, of course, the division of the working class, as a result of which natives and immigrants alike may be forced to resign themselves to evictions, wage reductions and relief cuts.

The number of deportations at the moment can only be surmised. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1934, 8,879 persons were deported for all causes. Twenty aliens were expelled for radicalism. In the year ending June 30, 1933, which included the first four months of the Roosevelt administration, the number of expulsions for all causes was 19,865, the largest in deportation history, and for radicalism 74, the largest in any single year since the high peak of 446 in 1921. In other words, the first year of the "New Deal" resulted in a sizable decrease in deportations. However, this drop was the result of (1) drastic reduction in immigration since 1930, which has *ipso facto* diminished the number of aliens who would have become public charges and therefore deportable, and (2) the successful federal campaign in recent years against illegal entry; the act of staying deportation orders in 1,225 hardship cases, pending action by Congress, was a poor third as a contributing factor.

The Roosevelt government has not inaugurated any important change in deportation policy. It has been performing a thankless task, administering a brutal mandatory law with half-hearted liberalism. In response to nationwide protests, Colonel MacCormack ordered the staying of all deportation proceedings at Gallup until after the trials of the framed miners. This, however, does not alter the fact that the deportation machinery is being used for illegal purposes. Executive quarters may neither encourage nor condone this violation of laws. In the 1920 Red scare neither Secretary of Labor Wilson nor Assistant Secretary Louis F. Post approved of the lawless activities of Attorney General Palmer's detectives; in fact, Mr. Post was impeached for his courageous opposition to their outrages, and yet more than 6,000 immigrants were rounded up in one of the most shameful periods of American history.

Several of the 100 or more immigration bills introduced in the present session of Congress are preparing the scene for just such a rampage. The enactment of one of the Dies bills, for instance, would, in all likelihood, result in the creation in the Department of Justice of a detective force not unlike the one Mr. Palmer let loose upon the country in 1920. The amended "administration bill," up for passage in the House of Representatives, seeks, among a few timidly liberal provisions, to legalize the abuses Colonel MacCormack deplored more than once after he had examined the 448 cases already mentioned.

The ultimate purpose of the current anti-alien movement is the destruction of all democratic institutions in this country. The attempt to muzzle the foreign born under the threat of expulsion is one of the first definite steps in this direction. "A nation devoted to liberty of opinion and freedom of speech," Mr. Post wrote in "The Deportations Delirium of 1920," "cannot deny either right to resident aliens without launching a tendency to deny both rights to citizens also."

OSCAR BAN.

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Washington Notes

A Setback to Housing—Why the Program Has Failed—The Big, Bad Wolf—What's Next in Panaceas?

AFTER pondering for a week over the decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals forbidding the federal government to condemn land for a Louisville, Kentucky, low-cost-housing project, Mr. Roosevelt's advisers have become deeply discouraged. The government will appeal, but at least six months must pass before the Supreme Court can act. The delay will be damaging not merely to the P.W.A.'s housing program, but to the plans being worked out by the Rural Resettlement Administration, the agency now containing most of the brains and idealism left in Washington.

Low-cost housing under Mr. Roosevelt has been an inexplicable tragedy. In the early months of the New Deal, all factions favored the construction of housing on a gigantic scale. In the center of every New Deal gathering was M. L. Wilson, now Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, describing his plan of five-acre homesteads, each with its fruit orchard, flower garden, cow, hive of bees and full electrical equipment. It was whispered that the first of these pocket paradises would arise at Reedsville, West Virginia, under the guardian wing of Mrs. Roosevelt, and that it would be the model of ten thousand similar communities in which, eventually, we all would live.

Usually it is forgotten that General Johnson, and the great industrialists whom he represented, had a not very different plan. During the World War, Johnson had been immensely impressed by the inflationary effects of government construction. To bring about reëmployment in the capital-goods industries, he proposed building workers' communities on the peripheries of large cities, connected with the central industrial areas by high-speed transportation lines. It was partly due to Johnson that a specific appropriation for low-cost housing was provided for under the P.W.A. In "The Blue Eagle from Egg to Earth," Johnson ascribes the continuance of the depression to the collapse of the New Deal housing plans.

There has never been any obvious cause for their failure. Basically, it seems to me, they failed because of the lack of strong, resourceful labor unions. Low-cost housing means workers' housing, and no organized group, representing poor people, existed to demand haste in the execution of the program. The celebrated—and since shell-scarred—workers' apartments in Vienna were built because the Viennese trade unions were powerful. Where, in this country, a union has become interested in a housing project, it has been a success. This is notably the case in the Juniata project of the hosiery workers near Philadelphia.

The issue that brought the break between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Robert D. Kohn, first director of the P.W.A. housing division, on one side, and Secretary Ickes on the other, was this question of the sponsorship of local groups. Mr. Ickes was entirely right in believing that most of the private groups applying for housing loans were morally or financially suspect, although it must be said that in general they were far from being the scalawags that Ickes pretended. After the resignations of Wilson and Kohn, Ickes attempted to conduct all housing activities directly from Washington. He now has to face the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals that the federal government lacks the constitutional power to condemn land for housing. It is worth noting that Judge Florence Allen, of the three circuit judges the most familiar with the problems of poor people, dissented from the court's decision that housing is not a "public purpose."

The Rural Resettlement Administration, which has authority to build housing in suburban areas of big cities as well in the country districts, is confronted with the same administrative and legal obstacles that worsted Ickes. No one can be dogmatic about popular sentiment, but I believe that, a year ago, the country would have supported with enthusiasm a housing program on a national scale. Today it is a question whether popular interest has not become blunted. The group that should be the main driving force for workers' homes, the A.F. of L., is apathetic. The men with the most to gain directly from a housing program, the organized workers of the building trades, are split in factions, and two rival A.F. of L. building-trades departments are fighting each other desperately in the courts.

The burst of newspaper excitement over Mr. Roosevelt's physical and mental health seems to have died down completely. Before Mr. Roosevelt's unruffled replies to questions asked in press conference, however, the volume of malicious whispering had unquestionably risen to great heights. Most of the rumors appear to have started in Wall Street among ordinarily responsible men, who were bewildered and intensely irritated by Mr. Roosevelt's quick shifts in his tax program. Hostile rumors about conspicuous public officials are constantly in circulation, and in some obscure way seem to serve as a means of mass psychic catharsis. In no previous administration, however, has the existence of these rumors been so promptly recognized by a President, nor so openly discussed by the press.

It can no longer be doubted that Mr. Roosevelt has swung to the opinion that bigness in business is, of itself, an evil thing, and the decisive political issue before the country. This appears most clearly in his proposal for a graduated corporation income tax, to be determined solely by the size of the income. In the liquor-control bill passed a few days ago, there likewise appeared a clause forbidding interlocking directorates. Those among the President's advisers who share his new-found hatred of bigness do so without qualification. They deny the benefits of mass production. In the case of the automobile industry, they say that the progressive lowering of price and improvement of product that have occurred are due not so much to mass production as to the individual genius of Messrs. Ford, Chrysler and Sloan, and that there is not the slightest indication that they will find equally able successors. They maintain that the natural tendency of industrial enterprises is to grow careless and rigid as they gain in size, and point to the steel industry as a case where the supposed economies of mass production notoriously have not been passed on to the consumers in lower prices and improved products. However, they cheerfully admit that even if it could be demonstrated that large-scale industry is the more efficient,

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they still would not like it. They say that it confers too much power upon a few individuals, which not only makes them independent of the state, but on occasion able successfully to challenge it. They point out that Henry Ford defied the N.R.A., and that the automobile industry demanded, and obtained, special treatment for itself under Section 7a.

Quite apart from its merits, there is one point that should be made about this anti-bigness issue. From the beginning of his administration, Mr. Roosevelt has successively been converted to four panaceas. First was the commodity dollar, which, in the early summer of 1933, Mr. Roosevelt felt would create permanent prosperity for America. This issue was abandoned the following September, and Mr. Roosevelt plumped heavily for credit inflation through government expenditures. In consequence, we had the C.W.A. until the following March, when "free spending" was precipitately halted. Through the mediation of Raymond Moley, Mr. Roosevelt next was converted to coöperation with business, a phase which lasted until January of this year. Now Mr. Roosevelt wishes to break up great corporations. It is a possible political program, but it would be perilous to forecast that the administration would still be pursuing it in another six months.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Open the Door on Kreuger and Toll—The True Story of Brewster's Backtrack—A Congressman in the Nude

WHY THE secrecy? What is there about the Kreuger and Toll reorganization that it should be carried on behind closed doors? For months the S.E.C. has been studying that strange American institution—the reorganization racket. One chapter in the investigation concerns itself with the Paramount case, some facets of which got some very effective publicity recently. But when the investigation reached Kreuger and Toll, suddenly it was decided to close the doors and withdraw into secrecy. I am informed that this was done at the urgent request of two distinguished lawyers who have been interested in this reorganization. The interest of American investors will suffer if the hearing is public, we are told.

But have not the interests of American investors suffered cruelly already because of too much secrecy? One can understand how, when bankers and promoters and their lawyers put their heads together to cook up a little dish for the public, they want all the secrecy they can get. But why should the S.E.C. collaborate with them in carrying on a public investigation behind closed doors? I appeal to the Commission not to spoil its record thus far by setting this dangerous precedent. The whole story behind both Acts under which the Commission works is to let the light in upon the business of security issuance and trading. Congress will surely want to know sooner or later why the malodorous Kreuger and Toll case has been taken into a corner behind closed doors. The public has a right to know the reason now. But better—far better—to open the doors at once.

Last week in this column I said that the utility-holding-company lobby controversy in the House had resolved itself into a question of veracity between Mr. Thomas Corcoran and Representative Ralph Brewster of Maine. (Incidentally, by a slip of the typewriter I referred to Representative Brewster as a Democrat.) Since that was written the whole story has been told. But like so many stories, it became a little confused under newspaper headlines. It is a story worth clearing up.

Representative (former Governor) Ralph Brewster of Maine charged on the House floor that the administration, through Thomas Corcoran, had tried to intimidate him into voting for the "death sentence" provision of the holding-company bill. Tom Corcoran, of the R.F.C., threatened, so Mr. Brewster said, to end the Passamaquoddy project in Maine, in Mr. Brewster's district, if he did not go through with a vote for the death sentence. Mr. Brewster declared that, to show his resentment, he broke away from Mr. Corcoran in Statuary Hall, rushed into the House and voted against the death sentence. The facts as developed in the House Rules Committee hearing show precisely what happened and leave no room for doubt. They give some notion of the pressure that came down on the heads of Congressmen in the last hours of that battle.

It is not popular to be for a utility company anywhere. Al Smith destroyed the Republican Party in New York with the utility issue. Roosevelt capitalized on it. It is a strange thing, therefore, to see politicians flocking to the utility companies. It is stranger to see Democratic Congressmen breaking away from the President, taking a chance on an unpopular issue, the party leaders in the House growing lukewarm in support of the President, the party whip standing in the well of the House and working against the President. Why? What force has driven these men? Perhaps the Brewster case offers a clue.

Mr. Brewster was supposed to be an anti-utility man. He was for the Passamaquoddy enterprise, which the utilities in his district fought. When the utility-bill and death-sentence fight arose he seemed to be with the President, though he was a Republican. He went to a meeting of the death-sentence supporters—a council of war to map strategy on the fight. He agreed, according to Representative Maverick, to make a speech for the bill. He went to Senator White of Maine, according to the Senator, and asked him to vote for the death sentence or, failing that, not to vote at all.

What reason could there be for Mr. Corcoran to try to bring pressure to bear on a man like that, already with him? Why threaten to end the Passamaquoddy project to intimidate a man who needed no intimidation? And to this array of witnesses is added the testimony of Mr. Corcoran and Dr. Ernest Gruening, both men of the highest character, that no threats were made.

The truth is that at the last minute something happened to Mr. Brewster. He decided to vote against the death sentence. To cover his retreat and his shame he made a charge of intimidation against an honorable man.

Before the House Committee, Mr. Brewster, apparently deserted by his Republican colleagues, made a most pitiable spectacle as the committee members' questions stripped him to spiritual nakedness and left him a nude monument to the frailty of a politician's word. JOHN T. FLYNN.

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On the Labor Front

The Chiseling Brigade—"Interpreting" the Trade Disputes Act—Harry Bridges at the I.L.A. Convention

IF THE reports now being sent in daily to the N.R.A. by its field investigators are a fair sampling, it would appear that a general breakdown of labor standards has taken place since the codes were declared unconstitutional. While all of these reports have not yet been collated, the indications are that there have been wholesale wage reductions, lengthening of hours and a return to child labor. In one county in North Carolina, 600 applications have been made for certificates permitting children of school age to work. Chiseling on hours and wages is most evident in the retail and service industries, where standards have apparently collapsed completely, and where the twelve-hour day and seven-day week are now not unusual. In the boot-and-shoe industry minimum wages of $13 a week have been cut to $6 and $7, and in several extreme cases to $2 for forty hours' work. Meanwhile, it appears that applications to relief organizations have increased since the abandonment of the codes. No doubt this trend is partly due to the relief policy of giving supplemental aid (and thus subsidizing sweatshop employers) rather than paying adequate relief (and thus forcing employers to pay decent wages in order to attract workers).

Since its enactment, the Wagner Trade Disputes Act has been the subject of a great deal of unofficial and semi-official interpretation. Most notable, I think, is the changed attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the measure. Last week, for example, President Green sent a warning to all officers and members of the Federation that they must not expect too much of the Act. "The scope of the Act is limited," he pointed out, "it does not apply to all industry and labor, but is effective only when a violation of a legal right of independent self-organization would tend to burden or obstruct interstate commerce." This is rather more realistic than Mr. Green's pronouncement immediately after the passage of the Act. "This legislation," he said at the time, "will make the workers of the nation economically free." Obviously, such statements are almost certain to raise false hopes among the millions of workers engaged in intrastate industries and, accordingly, excluded.

Another limitation of the Wagner Act is discussed by Robert W. Dunn in his pamphlet, "Company Unions Today," recently issued by International Publishers. Laws of this type, he observes, which prohibit employers from coercing an employee into *joining* a company union, are practically meaningless because employees do not ordinarily *join* a company union in the same way that a worker becomes a member of a trade union. The most usual procedure is for them to be "included" or "covered" by whatever representation scheme the company has set up for them. Perhaps the best illustration of this is the employee-representation plan established by General Motors last fall. When this was announced to the press, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., president of General Motors, was quoted as follows: "The plan was designed by the company to meet all requirements of Section 7a of the N.I.R.A. It has been in effect for several weeks. However, workers were first informed of it today." In this manner both General Motors and its employees were "covered."

The quadrennial convention of the International Longshoremen's Association, held in New York City a fortnight ago, was an example of the American Federation of Labor at its worst. Among the delegates was Harry Bridges, militant leader of the maritime strike on the Pacific Coast last year, who had come to report on the extraordinary gains made on the Coast as a result of the strike: the six-hour day, thirty-hour week, union control of hiring halls, elimination of unemployment among longshoremen through equalization of work, etc. These conditions are better than those in any other district, and Mr. Bridges had hoped they would justify a more militant policy on the part of the International. He was, however, bitterly disappointed. The convention, packed by delegates who were subservient to the leadership of President Joseph P. Ryan, hardly gave him a hearing. Every proposal advanced by the West Coast delegation for strengthening the union, making it more responsive to the wishes of the members through referendum votes, etc., was either voted down by the Ryan machine or sidetracked. Mr. Ryan, since he could not dispute the achievements made by the "rank and file" on the Coast, contented himself with denouncing Bridges and his fellow delegates as "tools of the Communists." In brief, if it can be said that the rank and file gained anything from the convention, it was the knowledge that it is easier to win a favorable decision from the shipping magnates than from their own conservative officials. In either case, of course, they are denounced as Communists.

There were feature stories in the newspapers a few weeks ago on the plight of the berry growers in New Jersey whose crops were threatened with ruin because relief recipients refused to take jobs picking berries. Reports of this sort have been frequent during the past two years and almost invariably, as in this case, they turn out to be grossly misleading on investigation. A special investigator sent to New Jersey by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration found that there was no foundation whatever in the charges. "No case is known," he reports, "of an adult client in the Hammonton area refusing to accept a job. All single able-bodied men were removed from the relief rolls several weeks ago and about ninety family cases, representing four hundred persons, were closed in June." This was true even though the working conditions offered in the berry fields were abominable. Earnings were found to be as low as 75 cents to $1.50 for a ten-hour day of extremely exhausting work. Housing accommodations—one-room shanties—provided for the berry pickers were "far below any recognized American standard of decency."

According to the Department of Agriculture, less milk and milk products were consumed in 1934 than in any year since 1925. Considering that there were some ten million more consumers in 1934, one must admit that this represents something of an achievement in controlled economy.

WILLIAM P. MANGOLD.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Why Not Capture the Old Parties?

SIR: In your "Third Party" discussions I wish you would go into some detail as to your reasons why Upton Sinclair's plan of capturing and using the Democratic Party for the purposes of socialism is not superior to the organizing of a wholly new party. Sinclair's sensational success in taking over the Democratic Party in California last year seems to me to be proof of what can be accomplished along this line elsewhere. . . .

The burden of organizing a new program so that it is politically effective is greatly increased by ignoring the apathy of the United States toward new-party movements. New parties sometimes flare up ambitiously, but seldom extend beyond the borders of the state of origin, and apparently are never continuing movements except through the actual death and absorption of an old party. Thus, our two-party political control of the country.

Why not proceed within the Democratic Party to carry out a program of production for use without engaging in a lot of futile side-show effort which develops the weakness instead of the strength of liberal and radical forces?

Los Angeles, Calif. ARNOLD B. LARSON.

Georgia Justice

SIR: As one of the white women indicted under the "slave insurrection" law that was invoked to sentence Angelo Herndon, organizer of the unemployed, to from eighteen to twenty years on the chain gang, I want to express my indignation at the fact that this antiquated law still stands on Georgia's statute books.

I was arrested, along with another white girl, two Negro men and two white men, in Atlanta, in 1930. Our "crime" was that we had passed out leaflets on which there was a picture of a Negro and a white boy clasping hands. We have never been tried, but Assistant Solicitor Hudson announced immediately upon hearing of the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Herndon case that he would push our trials and do his utmost to have us sent to the electric chair—the "insurrection" law permits the death penalty—or to long terms in jail. Two white girls, textile workers, are also under indictment under this law. They are Anna Mae Leathers and Leah Young. They were arrested in Atlanta in 1933 on the picket line during a mill strike.

So a law that has come down to us from slave days, that was designed by the slave holders to put to death slaves who rose in rebellion, is today being used against Negroes who are men enough to demand their rights, and against white workers who side with these Negroes or who struggle against the new forms of exploitation and slavery.

New York City. ANN BURLAK.

Civil Liberties in California

SIR: Please give us more summaries such as that of Samuel Paul Puner in your issue of June 26.

California rejoices! Of twenty-three repressive measures introduced at the opening of the recent session of the Legislature, only one passed. It was quite a fight, and some very nice people were called shocking names for opposing them. The measure passed prohibits the use of school buildings by groups that advocate the overthrow of the government by violence. In its unamended form it would have prohibited discussion of "controversial subjects."

The local American Civil Liberties Union is defending Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto against deportation proceedings. It is claimed that they are anarchists, and deportation to Italy in their case amounts to extradition. They will be charged in Italy under a law that carries a minimum penalty of fifteen years' imprisonment and a maximum of death. Funds for their defense may be sent to the San Francisco A.C.L.U., 434 Mills Building.

CHARLES A. HOGAN,
Chairman, Northern California Branch,
San Francisco, Calif. American Civil Liberties Union.

Land in the New Platform

SIR: Your paragraph on the American Commonwealth Political Federation [The New Republic, July 17] indicates sympathy. This conference, which I attended, raises the question, however, whether the people responsible for calling the conference under the slogan "production for use" really want that or just want to run for public office. Principles have places even in political platforms.

The convention took the intelligent position of favoring transfer of taxes from buildings and other labor products to land values, but was stampeded into rescinding this action and lining up with landlordism and against farm and city tenants by the cry of the spokesman for farm-land speculators of Iowa, reinforced by Congressman Amlie of Wisconsin, chairman of the Federation.

Although advocating "production for use," it failed to say how it proposes to produce land at a reasonable figure for housing and for farming, and indicated how superficial most of our so-called radicals and production-for-use people are—or are they only another variety of racketeers?

Of course there was practically no numerical strength at the meeting. The platform was a bid for votes, not for basic action.

Washington, D. C. BENJAMIN C. MARSH.

Extracts from Letters

SAMUEL UNTERMYER, as president of both the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights and of the Non-Sectarian World Council, calls attention to the campaign to have the United States government withdraw from participation in the coming Congress of the International Society for Prison Reform scheduled for Berlin on August 18 to 24 because of the country in which the Congress is to be held.

E. Maxwell Benton writes from Topeka, Kansas, to correct a reference made in our issue of June 19 to the Supreme Court decision in the Meyers case, in which we referred to Myers as a postmaster who had been "removed from office by President Coolidge." Mr. Benton is correct in pointing out that Myers was actually removed from office by President Wilson, although it was not until 1926, in Coolidge's administration, that the final Supreme Court decision was handed down in the case.

Two correspondents write to take issue with the opinion expressed by Jonathan Mitchell in his articles on the C.C.C. Camps [The New Republic, May 29 and June 12] that the camps, on the whole, showed no marked tendency toward either militarism or fascism. H. M. King, of Hollywood, California, points to the organizing by squads, the marching to meals and the olive-drab clothing, and the official regulations designed to inculcate respect and obedience for present officers as well as future employers, as evidences of tendencies toward both war and fascism. S. Plastrik writes from New York City that there is a high correlation between the rigid discipline of the C.C.C. camps and and an army camp, and thinks that in any acute situation the C.C.C. forces would be used as an instrument of state power.

The Committee for Ethiopia announces that it is now circulating a peace petition asking President Roosevelt to act under the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact to use the influence of this country to avert armed conflict between Italy and Ethiopia. Persons interested in signing this petition are requested to write to the Committee for Ethiopia, 28 East Forty-fifth Street, New York City.

The Anti-Nazi Federation is organizing a movement to send 100,000 postcards to the German government asking for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and other political prisoners now held in concentration camps and prisons in Germany. Printed postcards to be sent in this campaign may be obtained free by writing to the Anti-Nazi Federation of 168 West Twenty-third Street, New York City.

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Mountain People

Cabins in the Laurel, by Muriel Earley Sheppard, with photographs by Bayard Wootten. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 313 pages. $3.

SOON AFTER leaving college I had a cabin in the mountains of North Carolina, in the country between Canton and Waynesville, near the river and at the foot of the high mountains. I was also through the trails of Mt. Mitchell and divers ranges, and up through the mountain cattle-paths and sometimes all night in shacks of the hunters and cattle owners, spending that time with the Pressleys, Plesses and Sharps, native people whom I admired, trusted and liked. Afterwards I was often asked—only for a time, of course—by persons of kind intentions why I did not write about it all, these characters, scenes and atmospheres. I did not do so. Nor have I ever played it up for publicity purposes, making one's author-self interesting. I am willing now to do a little public laundering only because it may be a way of serving so excellent, balanced and sensible a book as Mrs. Sheppard has written. At least some of my readers may admit, in their old-fashioned way, that such an experience in the regions covered by the volume may make me a fairer judge of its value and contribution.

Perhaps I had better say modestly that any mere child, or unstatistical author, living among the people, vegetations, snakes, songs, storms, springs, animals, festivals and friends, of the Carolina mountains, would naturally remember them sometimes, at least, with a sensuous and even human accuracy; and would thus recognize some of the more superficial but permanent truths of the persistent life depicted in "Cabins in the Laurel."

Take the case. During that six or seven months, in a cabin rented for two dollars a month, firewood thrown in—the neighbors considered that a dollar would have been fair enough—I, quite naturally, saw a good many things, knew a good many people and heard songs and talk. I had, too, a baby named after me—though, with no regard for commercial literary value or isms, I confess to an entire innocence in the matter and to having had to share the honors of the full name with Grover Cleveland. But suppose I had set out to write up, as they say, my friends on Coffee Branch or farther on toward the ranges? The side of them that was binding and deep was only what is binding and deep in humanity by and large. Years of practice and a great art only could in the end create that. And it was not in the least what my requesters and encouragers intended. What was left to write about would have been peculiarities, picturesqueness, freaks, tales, oddities, evasions on the writer's part of the bottom of life. Time wasted. Rot.

And today, if I wrote of the boy of fourteen nearby my cabin, who waited outside at the window until his step-father was eating supper and then shot his whole lower jaw off, for beating the boy's mother; or of some of the incestuous mélanges among the hills, I should be writing "realism." Say I wrote of the Hensons, the old couple who were my neighbors around the bend in the wooded road, such saints, living in peace and in an accuracy of holy imagination that baffles me still, after so many years, to define; or if I wrote of Charlie Timmins, with that fiddle of his and that free, careless heart that led him to work himself down for such as paid little but put the screws on, or of Rowley Pless, much farther up into the mountains, with his golden beard, the family land and the old platters from Queen Anne's time, and the cattle men confiding to me that "we don't tell none of this here smut and swearin' around Rowley, he don't kere furrit, and so we don't." If I wrote of these, I should be put down as a sentimentalist or a romantic writer.

Furthermore—and here I mean as Mr. William Faulkner or Mr. Thomas Wolfe, at their respective best—if I keyed some of these mountain-folk details to a Gothic pitch, or dilated and exaggerated them into the realms of Dostoevsky or Balzac, I should be said to write "realism." We shall leave such critical confusion to those who may think it of value. If I wrote of the mountain songs that I heard so often, I should be a mere romancer. And yet Cecil Sharp—known the world over as an authority on the old ballads of England and Scotland, said of his visit to the mountain country—that was in 1915 and his remarks would be less wholly true today—"I found myself for the first time in my life in a community in which singing was as common and almost as universal a practice as speaking." As a matter of fact Mr. Sharp himself told me once that he had found within two weeks more than fifty variants on certain ballads as they were commonly known in England. Some of the stories in Mrs. Sheppard's book are given us in the verse form composed upon them by the mountain men.

All the foregoing is merely an approach to the judgment and praise of "Cabins in the Laurel." This book accomplishes without any hint of condescension a plain and clean statement of these people and their scene. It touches on their lands, their mines, their marriages and loves, their fairs, choirs and kin. It evades both the taint of journalism and the fibrous drought of research, so burrowing and termitic. It constantly evinces a sense of distinction between what is ignorance and what is tradition—the mountain people's language, for instance, so full of strange phrases and words, which descends honorably out of Elizabethan tradition—and what is stupid and what unknowing, what is violent and what is unhampered or, in proportion to other values in life, overpowering. To mention striking examples out of this rich account—people who have done this or that, or heard this or that from their fathers—might whet the appetite of the curious but would only falsify the solid honesty of the record. The pride of the book lies in the fact that it provides a matrix, as it were, for these more glaring and accessible details by which in the end they make sense and have authentic life. The photographs are equally honorable.

It might be said that "Cabins in the Laurel" does not give the full quality of this mountain life, that more frankness, et cetera, might be asked. It is true, as I know from observation, that the bawdy, for one example, in some of the mountain men is not fully shown in these pages. But in that case we may say that this is equally true as to simple sanctity, neither is that shown fully. This is merely another way of saying that Mrs. Sheppard's book, with an admirable honesty, does not undertake what only a great literary talent could convey with any basic truth.

STARK YOUNG.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Writers' International

PAINFULLY, from articles in the French and English press, I have been piecing together a picture of the Writers' International Congress for the Defense of Culture. It met in Paris on June 21 and continued for five days, with public sessions every afternoon and evening. In spite of the sticky, interminable heat, there was an audience of several thousand at all the meetings, a young audience partly composed of students and tourists, but chiefly drawn from the French working class. The delegates sat on a high platform barricaded with microphones. Flashlight bulbs exploded among them, caricaturists made sketches, reporters took notes at long unpainted tables and, hour after hour, the speeches continued, those in German, English or Russian being followed by unusually competent French translations. There were interruptions and disputes, some of them quite interesting, there was the inevitable scandal provoked by the Trotskyites, there was much wandering outside to drink beer or lemonade in the open air. Still, when the Congress ended a long and carefully studied program had been concluded impressively.

The writers assembled there at the Palais de la Mutualité—about two hundred of them, from thirty-eight countries—included a great many prominent citizens of the world republic of letters. Especially brilliant were the French delegation (Gide, Barbusse, Malraux, Aragon, Bloch, Vildrac and others), the Soviet delegation (with Ehrenbourg, Pasternak, Babel and Alexis Tolstoy) and the German delegation (entirely composed of exiles). Waldo Frank made the principal speech for the Americans; the English were represented by E. M. Forster, Aldous Huxley and John Strachey. The Congress had been organized by a left-wing group composed for the most part of Communist sympathizers, but all sorts of writers had been invited, provided only that they were hostile to fascism. The natural and healthy result was a series of arguments, traditionalists against innovators, liberals against Marxists. And yet, if the speeches are compared, they reveal a curious unanimity in regard to the most important subjects under discussion.

In the first place, nobody spoke in favor of abandoning "bourgeois culture" for the sake of a "proletarian culture" still to be created. All writers of whatever political complexion agreed that the old masterpieces should not only be preserved but should be rendered available to a much wider audience. Most of the argument on this point was provoked by Julien Benda. The occidental tradition, he said, holds that intellectual activity is independent of economic activity; the Communists claim that the two are interlocked; hence, there is a definite break between Communism and the Occident. Several writers answered him by pointing out that Marx and all his ideas belong to the occidental tradition. Paul Nizan, speaking for the Communists, made a more elaborate reply, explaining that the occidental tradition is not a homogeneous mass, but contains all sorts of currents and counter-currents. "Out of the whole cultural heritage to which M. Benda clings, we accept everything that implies a criticism of the existing world; we accept every plea made in favor of individuals who live and think, who hunger and die." On the other hand, "we reject the humanist mythology that asks us to contemplate an abstract human creature, and meanwhile to ignore the real conditions of life." The old culture should be preserved by emphasizing its best elements.

But the old culture—and this was another point made by many speakers—is not a fixed and definite object to be kept like a family heirloom. It is, said Jean Cassou, an *act* that must continually be renewed. Malraux, in the closing speech, went much farther along the same path. "Art, ideas, poems, all the old dreams of man: if we have need of them to live, they have need of us to live again—need of our passion, need of our desires, need of our *will*. . . . Whether or not we wish it, we create them at the same time that we create ourselves. . . . The cultural heritage does not transmit itself, but must be conquered."

Still another point on which there was general agreement was that national peculiarities—what André Gide called "the angles of refraction" proper to each people—are not to be abandoned in favor of a colorless internationalism; they are valuable to the world at large. On the other hand, the types of nationalism current today are hostile to the interests of the nations they claim to preserve, just as individualism is hostile to the freedom of most individuals. They are driving us towards another war which, as Malraux said, "will doubtless mean the end of Europe."

It would be a difficult and not a very useful task to summarize forty or fifty speeches, heterodox and orthodox, witty or windy. I suppose that the word most often repeated was "humanism," which was redefined as a preoccupation with living and suffering men and a hostility towards the abstractions and institutions now weighing them down. For the rest, there was one emotion underlying all the speeches and binding them together more closely than any idea or slogan. It was, briefly stated, a deep sense of *urgency*. No matter how high the speakers might soar into realms of intellectual theory or pure nonsense, they were brought down to earth by the knowledge of what might happen tomorrow, in this city, in this street. Yesterday fascism had triumphed in Germany. There were dozens of exiles in the hall; there were writers still scarred with floggings received in concentration camps. Today France was threatened with the same fate; and if France fell the rest of Europe would tumble after. The writers here would suffer not only in their books but in their persons.

It was a practical danger that brought them together; it was also a practical hope of combating it. In Germany the parties of the Left and the Center had quarreled with one another more bitterly than with Hitler; in France they were trying to unite. The same process was going on in the intellectual world, and this explains why Communists and Catholics and believers in the aristocratic tradition were addressing the same audience of students and workers. The audience was the key—for it was obvious that all these literary men had agreed on still another matter of everyday importance. No matter how united they were among themselves, they would be impotent, easy to gag and stifle, unless they drew nearer to the classes in the population that were actively fighting a big-business dictatorship. It was too late now to scurry back into their ivory towers. Their only salvation was to establish an offensive and defensive alliance with their audience—on the principle that if the working class successfully defended its liberties, the writers could be sure of saving theirs.

MALCOLM COWLEY.

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Modern Israel

Anti-Semitism: A World Survey, by Ingram Hughes. Los Angeles: Aryan Book Store. 98 pages. $2, private edition; 75 cents, reader's copy.

The Truth About the Protocols of Zion, by Herman Bernstein. New York: Covici, Friede. 352 pages. $3.

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, by Benjamin W. Segel. New York: Bloch Publishing Company. 97 pages. 50 cents.

Judaism: An Analysis and an Interpretation, by Israel H. Levinthal. New York: Funk and Wagnalls. 285 pages. $2.50.

We Jews, by George E. Sokolsky. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 328 pages. $2.50.

The Jew and the World Ferment, by Basil Mathews. New York: Friendship Press. 186 pages. $1.50.

Jews in Palestine, by A. Revusky. New York: The Vanguard Press. 406 pages. $3.50.

SINCE the conscious beginning of their history the Jews have been a problem to themselves. Since their first close contact with the outside world in the Roman Empire, they have been a problem to others. They originated as nomads of the desert, they lived a precarious political existence in Palestine for about one thousand years; for two thousand years they have been dispersed all over the earth. The personal relationship between God and man, as first developed by the Prophets and the Psalms, became the basis of religious life in the Occident. The Jews first intensified and amplified the tribal group consciousness into the mystical ardor of nationalism and the idea of the nation's divine mission. The authors and editors of the different books of the Bible reflected upon the past and the future destiny of their people. God spoke to them through their national history. A historical consciousness, unique in its strength and duration, links the Jews of all generations into a unity. It singles them out from the groups in the midst of which they live.

The Jewish problem has different aspects: religious, racial, economic, psychological. Different times stress different aspects. In periods of crisis and transition the Jewish problem (as do all others) grows more tense and acute; but it is never an isolated problem. Its tenseness is commensurate with the tenseness of the general political, social and intellectual atmosphere. In the past few years the future and destiny of humanity and of civilization have become problematic: a revaluation of old values is being preached, new experiments in the fields of society and thought are being started, age-old superstitions and primitive beliefs are being revivified and presented to humanity as the last word of wisdom. In such a period it is no wonder that the Jewish problem should have focused the attention of Jews and non-Jews alike. But in this general confusion there is no hope for its complete clarification. Religion is losing its hold, notwithstanding some melancholy hope for its return. Nationalism, deeply rooted in Jewish tradition, reappears intensified in an age gone mad with nationalism. The social structure seems to break down under economic strain, the competition grows stronger and stronger, economic nationalism and immigration laws hinder adjustment and balancing.

At the same time the number of Jews seems to be growing. In 1897 the estimate was 10,500,000; in 1930, 15,000,000. Even under the most fortunate conditions Palestine could absorb only a small proportion of this natural increase of the Jewish population. A Jewish sociologist, Arthur Ruppin, estimates the number of Jews in the first Christian century at 4,500,000; of these 1,000,000 were in Palestine. The Middle Ages represented generally a time of stagnation in the number of the population. The total population of Europe was estimated at 100,000,000 for the year 1350, and at 110,000,000 for the year 1700. For the year 1800 Ruppin estimates that the Jews numbered 2,500,000 against a world population of 600,000,000. After 1800 there is an estimated rapid increase of population, concurrent with the rise of industrialism, public health and science.

The Jews are numerically stronger today than they were at any other time in history. But this holds true of mankind as a whole. In a world population of 2,000,000,000, the Jews represent only 0.8 percent today. As they do not live in any large numbers among the people of the yellow, brown or black races, the Jews are present among the nations of the white race in the proportion of roughly 1.8 percent. But even this figure does not justify the great importance given in many countries to the Jewish problem.

There are few books that survey this problem in all its amplitude and all its implications, or go into it deeply enough. Most books discuss only one or the other aspect, fulfilling thereby a limited—though often a very useful—task. Many remain on the surface altogether, or reflect the personal moods, experiences or prejudices of the author. Books of this latter kind become dangerous if they attempt to "tackle the Jewish problem in its entirety," as does that of Mr. Ingram Hughes, who has brought forward in ninety-eight pages what he holds to be "a withering indictment" of the Jewish race: "Anti-Semitism: A World Survey." Mr. Hughes admires Hitler greatly. He is not only a fervent Aryan, he is even a generous man: he makes a gift to Judaism of all the men and movements he dislikes. He regards Karl Liebknecht, Scheidemann, Thaelmann as Jews; communism, the white-slave traffic, anti-prohibition and the belief in the equality and brotherhood of man as Jewish—whereas "the age-old ideals of hospitality, generosity and liberality have always characterized the Aryan race." Mr. Hughes's solution for world troubles is simple: Palestine should become the national state for the Jews and be "available and compulsory for all young married Jews under thirty."

Mr. Hughes naturally makes use of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, which notorious forgery is the subject for two of the books listed above. Mr. Herman Bernstein's "Truth About the Protocols" is a thorough treatment, giving the complete text of the Protocols and of their different sources. Mr. Benjamin Segel's work is a pamphlet in the same key. The hoax of the Protocols was so badly patched up and carried out that proving their absurdity is simply a matter of stating the evidence, but even in the case of such clear demonstrations as the two mentioned, one is reminded of what William James said about the relative futility of all demonstrations: "If your heart does not want to . . . your head will assuredly never make you believe."

Rabbi Levinthal's "Judaism: An Analysis and an Interpretation" is a well written book, revealing a typically homiletic approach to the problems of Judaism. It is rich in valuable quotations from Jewish traditional literature. But it skims only lightly over the surface of the problems; it is never stirred by their depths and paradoxes. Mr. George E. Sokolsky is one of the leading American journalists and lecturers on the Far East. His book, "We Jews," is a more personal statement of the problem. He had

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traveled far away from his origins when anti-Semitism made him return to Judaism. As he says here, he has become proud of his race and of his own return to its God and its traditions. Besides the personal narrative the book contains an effort to plead for a better understanding between Jews and non-Jews. A similar effort is undertaken by a Gentile author, Mr. Basil Mathews in "The Jew and the World Ferment." Mr. Mathews, a generally well informed Christian, pleads for straight comradeship. A more brotherly disregard for race barriers, he feels, is the only condition on which peace may come over Israel.

Many Jews hope to find that peace in Palestine. Mr. A. Revusky, himself born in Palestine and a journalist of very high reputation, has written a book of important and useful information on the Jewish achievements there. "Jews in Palestine" is full of facts, accurate and objective, animated by a warm sympathy for Zionism and a frank pride in its successful start in building the Jewish national state. But Mr. Revusky simplifies the political situation and the Arab problem; his interpretation of both is more a result of his own optimism than of any careful weighing of the issues. In a world of political and economic nationalism, a nationalistic solution of the Jewish problem seems natural. But for the world in general, there is no hope in political or economic nationalism. Both lead ultimately to more conflict and growing chaos. There are no easy solutions. The transitional age in which we live apparently does not allow a sheltered and peaceful life. The solution of the Jewish problem, as far as it is a political and social problem, seems to be bound up more than ever with the solution of the general problems of mankind. HANS KOHN.

Men Against the Sea

SOS to the Rescue, by Carl Baarslag. New York: The Oxford University Press. 326 pages. $2.50.

BECAUSE its subject—disaster at sea—is one to grip the attention of almost any audience, and because its writer is wise and competent in his specialized trade, yet patient with us, this book carries an interest that is quite out of the ordinary. Karl Baarslag is by calling a seagoing radio operator, and some of his attitudes are bound to appear silly to literary persons—his title is faintly reminiscent of the Tom Swift cycle, needing only a screamer and notice from Will Cuppy; his chapter descriptive of this memorial and that floral tribute is unnecessary and gawpish. But in preference to the usual run of journalists and semi-ghosters, it is good to have for once the word of an honest craftsman, speaking in his genuine, halting way, with all the implications he is unable to bring out still lying there in all their fine truth.

Baarslag covers the most important of recent sea accidents from the angle of the part played by a ship's radio—which has been considerable. There was the rescue of the "Florida's" complement, largely directed by the key of Mr. Jack Binns; there was the desperate case of the "Titanic," the awe of that sinking still fresh in the mind somehow. There was the "Empress of Ireland," and a ship called the "Antinoe," which lay on her beam ends in smashing seas for days, while a big passenger ship hung around pumping oil and exhausting every device for getting her crew off. The "Vestris" and the "Morro Castle" are well enough known names still, and then there is another, the "Tashmoo," a sort of funny ship, whanged all over the ocean without anything more like radio aboard than a tangle of unused gear and a scullery helper who figured it painfully out from a previous acquaintance with spark plugs, or something, and saved a desperate cargo of people.

In the case of many of these events, there is new light thrown by reason of the author's careful research among old logs, hearings, and such surviving seamen as he can get hold of, and get to talk. In each of them there is a refreshment of memory, a complete story. But in a whole string of them, following each other in natural sequence, there is something more—a total of human endurance and suffering and futile bravery that is oppressive. There grows in particular a sense of the great pity it is that the tragic and splendid allegiance the men of these various disasters have brought, over and over, to their jobs, should be on hire for the few mean dollars of any careless merchant; and that the men themselves should not count, not in the least.

They will work themselves to the bone daily when nothing happens and be glad to keep their mouths shut; and when something does happen, when the time comes, they will go down into exploding boiler rooms (Baarslag's heroes are by no means all confined within a radio shack) or burn the very flesh off their hands on metal cut-out valves, or live for hours in fire, smoke, water. And if enough stuffy first-class passengers are lost or saved, they will live a brief (probably posthumous) hour in the press—as heroes or as villains, the public will not know which but be perfectly ready to scream either. And that is about all there is for them—to give everything and be given nothing at all (and lucky to get that).

Here is a man called Rogers. He sits in a radio shack, the floor red hot, and sulphuric acid from the batteries spreading over the heated metal enough to put him out for days afterwards. The place is filled with smoke, he has got to have a wet towel around his face to live; and what is he doing? He is sitting at the key, clearing the air on his own responsibility while waiting for permission to send out a call, to save hundreds of people from going up like a bonfire—and mind you, that permission is no easy thing, because suppose an SOS should go out, entailing good hard dollars in salvage, and then it should rain, putting the fire out, or the ship should run safely on the beach? Supposing that, the poor dub of a captain would be broken and blacklisted out of his calling, a professional failure and therefore target for the easy scorn of all. And so Rogers fries in his little metal box, voluntarily staying in it sheerly through qualities that most of us are accustomed to observe in others, and, finally having got his SOS off, firm and clear, what is the reward? A company chooses him and his assistant for scapegoats, and in the eyes of most of our good citizens they are scoundrels and cowards and possibly even Red agitators, to this day.

And here, for an example of a different sort, is McLoughlin, with his radio shack practically standing on end, going about getting bearings in that death trap and working the several ships coming up under the horizon, handling his key with such an iron nerve (a radioman's "fist," his style with the key, is as distinctive and delicate as his handwriting) that operators in other ships could not believe there was any danger. Seemed to be "proud of his work," McLoughlin's junior reported afterwards—no babble about God, country, women-and-children-first here, you notice. All the time they were abandoning, McLoughlin was finishing up every possible detail of the job; and when all had left and everything was done, the power failing, the man sent a tidy little "I am closing down now" signal, shut off his set, went out on deck, and presently pitched down over the side of the S.S. "Vestris" into the dark water; and that was absolutely the end of McLoughlin's work, of which he was proud. OTIS FERGUSON.

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Winner Lose All

The Treasure of the Sierra Madre, by B. Traven. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

BEFORE going into the very real qualities of this novel, we should perhaps explain that it does not equal Traven's "Death Ship." It lacks principally that organic unity we expect of a finished work of art. Its loose external structure and the absence of a sufficiently vital and convincing central purpose impose definite limitations to its scope and meaning. This much said, however, we can go ahead and praise it for what it is, a whopping good story with a salty picaresque tang, a wealth of social and psychological perspicacity and an ironic sense of humor rendered doubly effective by simple realism and an intimate knowledge of the country and its institutions.

The main body of the story is concerned with three American tramps, waste products of the Mexican oil boom, who band together to prospect for gold in the high reaches of the Sierra Madre. In the end, one murders another and is himself killed by bandits; and the dust that had cost them all such exhausting toil and hardship is spilled on the ground by fools and scatters in the wind. Within the main story there are long digressions that somewhat weaken its fabric, but are in themselves excellent short stories, filled with pungent historical anecdote and social satire.

There is also the powerful first quarter of the novel, which introduces us to Dobbs and his two future partners—unmistakable American workers, degraded and brutalized by a plundering social order, living for their empty bellies in the filth and squalor of a Mexican port town. Here is the beginning of another and perhaps more significant novel than the one into which "The Treasure of the Sierra Madre" develops. But Traven chose to take these three derelicts into the mountains and to make his book center around the new relationships that spring up among them.

In this purpose, and within the limitations already stated, he is successful. He sees these relationships as in the main conditioned by economic realities, in this case the realities of a raw, tiny business organism remotely yet securely fastened to the main body of capitalism. Thus he is able to provide the thoughts and deeds of his three characters with an inner logic which, from the very start, points to the ultimate failure of their enterprise. CLYDE O. HUNTER.

Poet's Journey

Comrade Mister: Poems by Isidor Schneider. New York: The Equinox Coöperative Press. 88 pages. $2.

THE POEMS of Isidor Schneider, like the poems of Auden, Spender and Day Lewis, are trail-blazing signs indicating the direction in which poets are traveling. The road leads away from the esoterics of literary anarchists; from nihilism towards collectivism.

The journey has been a difficult and interesting one for Isidor Schneider. In his early poetic method and approach to material, there was an artificial conception of poetry common to many of his contemporaries. The language of the poetry current at the time was often forced, the images far-fetched and associated metaphysically; consequently, the meanings of words broke down and were not conveyed; the emotion, caught in the tangle of words, was strangled. These faults are evident in "Comrade Mister." When they occur, the poet writes bad rhetoric.

In order to communicate with a comprehensive, revolutionary audience and avoid ambiguity, Schneider had to strive for simple and explicit expression. In the section entitled "Towards a Revolutionary Poetry," he has achieved a greater simplicity, his statements are more direct, his ideas are clearer. This simplicity, however, is reduced to the absurd when, in an anniversary poem like the ode to The Daily Worker, the verse becomes prosaic and banal: despite a worthy impulse, the underlying emotion is not an intrinsic part of Schneider's poetic personality and is therefore false.

"Prophecy to Myself" is a fine poem in which the poet integrates his social vision with his emotions and individual experience. The poem is an essential outgrowth of change in Schneider's life, and his new vision broadens his understanding and brings consolation for loss in love:

> Love is in its perfection when
> the least caress returns caressed. . . .
>
> So, vain and doomed is personal love.
> If it has destiny, it is like a potted tree,
> that as it grows must break the pot,
> and if it reach not more abundant earth, must die.
> My love has cracked its pot; but has struck
> the more abundant earth; the earth of comradeship,
> and I can, all my length grow out,
> in revolutionary act.

I liked the sensitive, minute observations of poems like "The Wall," and liked best the poems "Riding Song," "Forget This Spring" and the above "Prophecy." Schneider's poetic vision of communism, like that of the English poets mentioned, is in a romantic stage. But there is little doubt that the poet, having found new roots in more abundant earth, will more firmly imbed himself in the life of his age. C. H. NEWMAN.

Australia Infelix

Landtakers, by Brian Penton. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

BRIAN PENTON'S novel is a vivid revelation of the hardships endured by the Australian pioneers in wresting sheep "stations" out of the wilderness. The action takes place from 1840 to 1865, or during one of the most exciting quarter-centuries in Australian history; but most of the epoch-making events are tangential to this story. Briefly, "Landtakers" recounts the story of Derek Cabell from the time shortly after his arrival in Australia as a "new chum" to the day when he is a wealthy squatter. The tale is coarse and brutal and honest; the colors are laid on with a trowel; the action is consistently violent; and the psychology of the participants is distorted by convictism and its vile consequence. As a revelation of how convict slavery (a correct description of the assignment system) at one and the same time built up the country and poisoned life, this novel is unequaled. In many of its aspects, though, it is definitely inferior to other Australian novels of social interest; and certainly only its social revelations account for the overpraise that has been given it.

Those who are interested in "Landtakers" should notice a monograph by W. D. Forsyth: "Governor Arthur's Convict System" (Longmans, Green; $3). The book deals with conditions in Tasmania under the man who was reckoned the most successful administrator the system ever knew, and is a study of convict government almost as hair-raising as fiction. C. HARTLEY GRATTAN.

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Books in Brief

The Last of Free Africa, by Gordon MacCreagh. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 394 pages, illustrated. $4.

PENDING the arrival of a comprehensive and up-to-date book about Ethiopia (as Abyssinia is still officially known) this reprint of Mr. MacCreagh's seven-year-old travel volume will serve as a readable introduction to the country, its history, resources, people and customs. Recent events are briefly touched upon in a special foreword and in an epilogue. The author—who is admittedly not an expert in such matters—tries to explain some of the complex economic factors underlying the swollen ambitions of Mussolini, and the astounding impotence of the other Great Powers involved. A chapter on slavery punctures many of the Foreign Office exaggerations—which are inspired more by political rivalries than by moral indignation. "Christian Abyssinia" is the title of an informative chapter that reveals the historical continuity of the land from the time of the fabled Queen Balkis of Sheba. In his epilogue the explorer-author analyzes, not too clearly, the possible outcome of the inevitable Italo-Ethiopian dispute. We gather that the natives, under Haile Selassie, will fight bitterly against terrific odds; if they lose, the imperialist powers will shortly be at one another's throats for the lion's share of the spoils; if Ethiopia wins—well, "the last of free Africa" may very possibly become also the beginning of the end of Fascist Italy.

H. W.

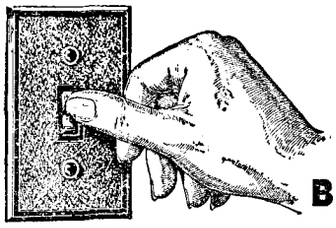
The Cairn, by T. J. Morrison. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. $2.

To symbolize a self-imposed promise, young Murdoch MacAlpine builds up a cairn of rocks on the wild hillside of his drunken father's Highland estate. Upon his father's death he will inherit the baronetcy; he will devote the rest of his life to fulfilling his vow, which is to extend the family lands by redeeming what his forbears have lost. Inheriting while still in his teens, haunted by this earth hunger, Sir Murdoch becomes a ruthless mechanism, matching himself against his tenants and buying up, by unscrupulous means, farm upon farm. In the course of his appointed enterprise he wrecks his emotional life, making one calculating marriage proposal after another, committing murder, growing into a sullen egocentric introvert estranged from his fellow men. This sensitively written study in single purposiveness, in almost psychopathic acquisitiveness, is set against a somber background rich in color and in Scottish types.

H. E. W.

The Hanging on Union Square, by H. T. Tsiang. With a foreword by Waldo Frank. Box 66, Station D, New York: H. T. Tsiang. $2.

A variety of publishers turned down this novel and the author's two other books. But Tsiang had enough conviction in his beliefs and enough power in his tongue to persuade a public and a printer into a combine that has made publication possible. More a cartoon than a novel, "The Hanging on Union Square" has a flip, sarcastic, even bawdy quality in the writing, which gives it a place higher among proletarian novels than, intrinsically, it deserves. The characters of Mr. Nut, Miss Stubborn and the rest are like the Henry Dubb who used to appear in the old Socialist Call,



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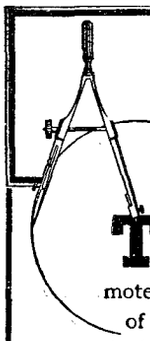

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like the characters in a German expressionistic play; consequently any real emotional drive has to be left out. For one macabre scene, when the dead bodies of Miss Stubborn's father and mother are carried on their beds at the front of a demonstration, the omission is a vital loss; the Punch-and-Judy show won't bear such a weight. But the brutal gayety of the book, the intentionally naïve humor, gain it more effectiveness than might be found in a dozen soggy novels about the same situations.

K. W.

Forever Wandering, by Ethel Mannin. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 352 pages. $3.50.

Miss Mannin seems to have covered Central Europe only in order to write a book of impressions. Naturally, the reader learns a great deal more about Miss Mannin than about the countries she visits. The author is a Bright Young Woman, much Sought After, a sophisticated Socialist, and a Public Person, always liable to be accosted by strangers. She goes to Hamburg and Munich and Berlin and discovers that Germany is no place for "those of us who have friends among the Jews." Not that she gets around to seeing very much but the night clubs of these cities; however, the homosexual *boîtes* have been driven out, and that proves the decline of individual liberty. She goes on to Vienna and finds it very cold. The Socialist Party is in a bad way, the streets are full of beggars, the furniture old-fashioned. The "queer" places she so assiduously frequents are depressing. In Switzerland she is surprised to find the snow conducive to a good sunburn. Russia reduces her to pages and pages of incoherent ecstasy. Ireland is poverty stricken. The 352 pages are eked out with sketches of her life in England.

I. L.

Contributors

WALTER MILLIS, a member of the editorial staff of The New York Herald Tribune, is the author of "The Martial Spirit," a study of the Spanish-American War, and "The Road to War," the story of how America was drawn into the World War.

ESTHER M. DOUTY for the past two years has been a case worker in the rural and semi-rural regions of the South.

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS is a practising physician in Rutherford, New Jersey, where he was born in 1883. He has been a frequent contributor to the "little magazines," and at present is working on the libretto for an American opera being composed by T. Serly.

RAYMOND POSTGATE is the author of "How to Make a Revolution," which was published last winter by the Vanguard Press. His other books include "Murder, Piracy and Treason" and "Dear Robert Emmett."

OSCAR BAN is a native of Hungary who came to the United States in 1922 at the age of twenty-two. He has been a laborer, factory worker, salesman and foreign-language newspaperman, and is now living in New York City, where he is doing research for a book on immigration problems.

HANS KOHN is professor of History at Smith College. His books include "A History of Nationalism in the East," "Orient and Occident" and "Nationalism in the Soviet Union."

C. H. NEWMAN was included in The New Republic symposium, "Eight Proletarian Poets." His work has appeared in Dynamo and The New Masses. He is preparing a book of poems for publication.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN, whose many books include "Bitter Bierce" and "Why We Fought," lived for more than a year in Australia and is the author of a monograph, "Australian Literature."

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Harold Ward, Harry E. Wedeck, Kenneth White and Isabel Lewis.

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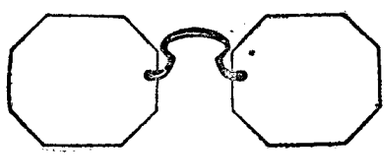

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